



BYZANTIUM

Identity, Image, Influence

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ABSTRACTS
of Communications

Index of Authors

The figure at the cover is a detail from the Eagle Silk of Odense, probably Byzantine work from the 11th century. The remains of the Danish royal saint King Canute IV (killed in St. Alban's Church, Odense, in 1086) were wrapped in this silk when they were placed in the altar shrine of the Cathedral of Odense on April 19, 1100. The silk was a gift from St. Canute's widow, Ethele, then living in Southern Italy.

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1. External Relations

1.1. Consequences of Conquests and Invasions

- 1.1.0.1. Syriac-Christian Perceptions of Byzantium and the Byzantines in the Period of the Crusades (Victoria Erhart, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 1.1.0.2. A Tale of Two Tondos: Tracing Venetian Loot from Byzantium after 1204 (John W. Barker, Madison, Wisconsin, USA)
- 1.1.0.3. The Petropigi fortress (Siri Sande, Oslo, Norway)
- 1.1.0.4. Transferable Skills, Byzantine Craftsmen in London, 1440-1483 (Jonathan P. Harris, London, United Kingdom)

1.2. Byzantine Influence Abroad

1.2.1. Byzantium and the North: Imitatio Imperii et Interpretatio Scandinavica et Russica

- 1.2.1.1. The Creation of the Byzantine Version of "Barlaam and Ioasaph" and the Christianization of the Rus (Elguja Khintibidze, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 1.2.1.2. Культ Св. Дмитрия в Византии и у славян (Olga Ivanova, Aarhus, Denmark)
- 1.2.1.3. Vikings and Byzantines: Worlds of Trade (Elisaveta Todorova, Cincinnati, Ohio, USA)
- 1.2.1.4. Византия и Север (по находкам византийских стеклянных изделий за пределами византийской метрополии) (Julia L. Shchapova, Moscow, Russia)
- 1.2.1.5. Reflections of Byzantine Art in Finland (Aune Jääskinen, Helsinki, Finland)
- 1.2.1.6. Smolensk-Novgorod-Visby (Scandinavian Churches in Ancient Russian Cities and Russian Churches in Medieval Scandinavia) (O.M. Ioannisian, St. Petersburg, Russia)

1.2.2. Byzantium and the Northern Shores of the Black Sea

- 1.2.2.1. Le Royaume de Bosphore et les invasions barbares de la deuxième moitié du III s. n.è. (Elzara Khairedinova, Ukraine)
- 1.2.2.2. The Late Antique Country Necropolises of European Bosphorus (Alexander A. Maslennikov, Moscow, Russia)
- 1.2.2.3. Byzantine Rock Architecture in the Crimea (Yuri Mogarichev, Ukraine)
- 1.2.2.4. The Christianity in the Crimea in the 13th-15th Centuries (Natalia M. Bogdanova, Russia)
- 1.2.2.5. Ostchristliche Kirke in Kaffa 5.-15. Jahrhundert (Alexander Emanov, Russia)
- 1.2.2.6. Le rôle de Byzance dans la genèse et l'évolution de Cetatea Albă (Asprokastron, Belgorod) (Victor Spinei, Iași, Romania)

1.2.3. Byzantium and Eastern Peoples I (Armenia, Georgia)

- 1.2.3.1. Commentaries in the Byzantine Literature and their Influence on Armenian Commentaries (the Armenian Translation of Aristotle's "Virtues and Vices") (Manea-Erna Shirinian, Yerevan, Armenia)

- 1.2.3.2. Купольные храмы Западной Алании: архитектурная типология и сравнительная хронология (L. A. Perflyeva, Moscow, Russia)
- 1.2.3.3. The Carved Decoration of the Georgian Churches in Iškhanī and Oški (Dora Piguet-Panayotova, Paris, France)
- 1.2.3.4. Byzantine Art Elements in Illustrations to "Narek" (Yerevan, Matenadaran 1568, A.D. 1173) (Alvida Mirzoyan, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 1.2.3.5. Georgian Art in Armenian Ani 1215-20 (Antony Eastmond, Coventry, United Kingdom)

1.2.4. Byzantium and Eastern Peoples II (Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran)

- 1.2.4.1. Byzantine Motifs in Coptic Art (Alexander Kakovkin, Russia)
- 1.2.4.2. A Crucifixion Triptych with Passion Scenes in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (Zuzana Skalova, Cairo, Egypt)
- 1.2.4.3. L'importance du matériel éthiopien pour les études sur l'art byzantin: le cas de l'église Gännâtâ Maryam (XIII^e siècle) et son ensemble de peintures murales (Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, Uppsala, Sweden)
- 1.2.4.4. Byzantium in New Iranian Classic Literature and Folklore (Garnik Asatryan, Yerevan, Armenia)

1.2.5. Byzantium and the Rest of Europe

- 1.2.5.1. Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel aus Ungarn (Charalampos Chotzakoglou, Vienna, Austria)
- 1.2.5.2. Royal Icons? Byzantine Parallels for Charles IV of Bohemia's Dynastic Imagery (Shannon Holcomb, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 1.2.5.3. Gli affreschi con gli apostoli nella chiesa di S. Bevignate a Perugia: un esempio di pittura bizantineggiante in Italia centrale (Cristina Pantanella, Rome, Italy)
- 1.2.5.4. Pittura bizantina e pittura romanica francese: Indici e problemi di relazione (Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli, Bologna, Italy)

1.3. Diplomacy

1.3.1. Diplomatic Relations

- 1.3.1.1. Les relations diplomatiques entre le royaume wisigothique et Byzance pendant la deuxième décennie du VII^e siècle: Caesarius et Sisebutus (Pedro Castillo Maldonado, Jaén, Spain)
- 1.3.1.2. La politique arménienne de Byzance de Justinien II à Léon III (691-717) (Michel van Esbroeck, Munich, Germany)
- 1.3.1.3. Märchenhaftes bei einer arabischen Bericht an Theophilos (Juan Signes Codoñer, Spain)
- 1.3.1.4. Болгаро-Византийские отношения в конце IX - начале X вв. на страницах Летописца (Ljudmila V. Gorina, Russia)
- 1.3.1.5. Die russisch-byzantinische Begegnung im Lichte der (russisch-byzantinischen) Verträge des 10. Jahrhunderts (Jana Malingoudi, Greece)
- 1.3.1.6. Contribution à l'histoire des rapports entre Constantin Monomaque et le roi hongrois André I^{er} (Thérèse Olajos, Szeged, Hungary)

- 1.3.1.7. Michael VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard and the Byzantine-Norman Marriage Negotiations (Athina Kolia-Dermizaki, Greece)
- 1.3.1.8. Byzantium and the Ilkhans: the imperial diplomacy in the Orient ca. 1250-1310 (Dmitrij A. Korobejnikov, Moscow, Russia)

1.4. Social and Political Images

1.4.1. Imperial Cryptopropaganda

- 1.4.1.1. The "cross-under-arch" motif in 9th-century Venetian sculpture: a statement of political allegiance to the emperor in Byzantium? (John Osborne, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada)
- 1.4.1.2. Silention. Kommunikationshistorische Gesichtspunkt (M. I. Hakkarainen, Helsinki, Finland)
- 1.4.1.3. Information et Propaganda. Réaction et équation des termes dans la mentalité méso-byzantine (VIII-Xe siècles) (Nike Koutrakou, Brussels, Belgium)

1.4.2. Panegyrics

- 1.4.2.1. Bishops, Emperors and Saints: Hagiography and Panegyric in Early Byzantium (Claudia Rapp, Los Angeles, California, USA)
- 1.4.2.2. The Heroic Exploits of Khusrau II: A Study in Political Mythology (D. Frendo, Ireland)

2. Internal Affairs, Economic and Social History

2.1. Law, Administration, and Politics

2.1.1. Law and Politics

- 2.1.1.1. Byzantine Narrative Sources on the Nature of the Byzantine State. A comparative Study (Telemachos Lounghis, Athens, Greece)
- 2.1.1.2. On the studying of the circus parties (Nataliya V. Astachova, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 2.1.1.3. Magister Militum Comenciolus and his Presence in Byzantine Spain (Margarita Vallejo Givés, Alcala de Henares, Spain)
- 2.1.1.4. The Language of the Macedonian Novels on Preemption: Green Light for Circumvention of Law (Danuta Gorecki, Urbana, Illinois, USA)
- 2.1.1.5. Divorce by Mutual Consent and its Customary Application in the Byzantine Empire (Daphne Papadatou, Thessaloniki, Greece)
- 2.1.1.6. Комнины после Комнинов: династическая идея в Византии в конце XII-XIII в. (Nadine P. Chesnokova, Moscow, Russia)

2.2. Army, Navy, Defense

2.2.1. The Byzantine Army

- 2.2.1.1. Principles of Army Organization according to the Treatise "De velitatione bellica" (Vladimir V. Koutchma, Volgograd, Russia)
- 2.2.1.2. "Παῖδες", "πάλληκες" και "υπουργοί". Ένας αγνοημένος παράγων του βυζαντινού

- στρατού (Taxiarchis G. Koliass, Ioannina, Greece)
- 2.2.1.3. Greek Fire: A New Solution to an old Problem (Theodore Korres, Thessaloniki, Greece)
- 2.2.1.4. Structure of the Byzantine Army in the Empire of Nicaea (in Russian) (Piotr J. Zhavoronkov, Moscow, Russia)

2.2.2. The Byzantine Frontier

- 2.2.2.1. Une rémise en question de la politique de Justinien envers les peuples du Danube (Sophie Patoura, Athens, Greece)
- 2.2.2.2. Contributi geografici per la demarcazione della frontiera bizantina in Spagna (Francisco Salvador Ventura, Jaén, Spain)
- 2.2.2.3. The Foundation of "polismata" in the district of Thrace and their incorporation in the Byzantine ecclesiastical Hierarchy by the Iconoclast emperor Constantine V (Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, Athens, Greece)
- 2.2.2.4. The Byzantine frontier in the Balkans in the 11th and 12th centuries (Paul A. Stephenson, Cambridge, United Kingdom)

2.3. Economic, Social, and Medical History

2.3.1. State Finances and Commerce

- 2.3.1.1. Commerce local à Byzance et en Romanie vénitienne (XIII - XV siècles) (Vera G. Chentsova, Moscow, Russia)
- 2.3.1.2. Byzantine Tradition in Economic Privileges Granted by the Emperors of Trebizond (Triantafyllitsa Maniati-Kokkini, Pallene Attikis, Greece)

2.3.2. Donors and Patrons

- 2.3.2.1. Donors and their Donations from Dedicatory Notes on Manuscripts of the Palaiologan Period (Florentia Evangelatou-Notara, Halandri, Greece)

2.3.3. Birth, Death, Health and Illness in Byzantium

- 2.3.3.1. Passages gynécologiques du texte grec des Ephodia (Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Paris, France)
- 2.3.3.2. Once upon a Text: Metrodora's Work on the feminine Diseases: Tradition, Assimilation and Dissemination of the ancient medical Theories in Byzantine Medicine (Esteban Rubio Gómez, Madrid, Spain)
- 2.3.3.3. Παραδοσιακή θεραπευτική πρακτική στην Χρονογραφία του Εφραίμ (Manolis G. Varvounis, Komotini, Greece)

2.3.4. Women in Byzantium

- 2.3.4.1. Byzantine Studies and Feminist Methodologies: Passages to the Material in Anna Komnena's Alexiad (Thalia Gouma-Peterson, Oberlin, Ohio, USA)

2.3.5. Eunuchs in Byzantium

- 2.3.5.1. Eunuchen als πάντων κακῶν ἐρχάται? (Hiroshi Wada, Tsukuba, Japan)

3. Demographic, Ethnographic and Geographic Themes

3.1. Anthropology, Demography, Ethnography

3.1.1. Ethnic Composition and Demography

- 3.1.1.1. The Monastery of Zelianos - the First Slavic Monastic Institution on Mount Athos (Cyril Pavlikianov, Athens, Greece)
- 3.1.1.2. Ethnic Names Used in the State of Epirus in the Early 13th Century (Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, Thessaloniki, Greece)
- 3.1.1.3. The Ethnic Composition of the Population of the South-Eastern Maritime Territories of the Black Sea, Laz (Erekle Jordania, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 3.1.1.4. Ethnic History of Byzantine Crimea (Alexandre Aibabin, Simferopol, Ukraine)
- 3.1.1.5. The foederates of the Late Roman-Byzantine Empire in the Crimea (Valerij Sidorenko, Simferopol, Ukraine)
- 3.1.1.6. The Ethnic Structure of the Caffa Population at the End of the 15th Century (Andrej L. Ponomarev, Moscow, Russia)

3.1.2. Strangers in Byzantium after 1100

- 3.1.2.1. L'alterité à Byzance (Lenos Mavrommatis, Athens, Greece)
- 3.1.2.2. Les "étrangers latins" en Romanie angevine pendant le règne de Charles Ier (1266-1285) (Marie Dourou-Eliopoulou, Athens, Greece)
- 3.1.2.3. Venetian officials in the Greek lands under Latin rule (Chryssa Maltezou, Athens, Greece)
- 3.1.2.4. The Genoese in Constantinople and Adrianople in the Middle of the 15th Century (According to the Material in the Genoese State Archives) (in Russian) (Svetlana V. Bliznjuk, Moscow, Russia)
- 3.1.2.5. Latent Turkicisation in Byzantium: the Case of the Pontus, 13th and 15th Centuries (in Russian) (Rustam M. Shukurov, Russia)

3.2. Geography, Topography

3.2.1. Topography

- 3.2.1.1. Russian Studies in the Topography of Constantinople (Ekaterina Yu. Basargina, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 3.2.1.2. The Voyage of Laskaris Kananos to Northern Europe (Jerker Blomqvist, Lund, Sweden)

4. Buildings, Sites and Material Culture

4.1. Archaeology

4.1.1. Archaeology and Material Culture in General I (Greece, Istanbul, Asia Minor, Egypt)

- 4.1.1.1. Delphes paléochrétienne: la ville et sa ceramique (Platon Petridis, Athens, Greece)
- 4.1.1.2. Die Stadt Kos in der Spätantike (Ersi Bruskari, Athens, Greece)
- 4.1.1.3. Interpreting the Byzantine Dark Age in Grevena, Greece (John Rosser, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, USA)
- 4.1.1.4. Excavations at Pseira. An early Byzantine rural monastery

- (Jenny Albani, Athens, Greece)
- 4.1.1.5. Viranşehir (Mokisos), eine frühbyzantinische Stadt in Kappadokien (Albrecht Berger, Istanbul, Turkey)
- 4.1.1.6. Ergebnisse der Grabungen an der Nikolaoskirche in Myra (Semiha Yıldız Ötüken, Ankara, Turkey)
- 4.1.1.7. On some Byzantine Influences on Coptic Lamps of the 5th-6th Century (Olga V. Osharina, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 4.1.2. Archaeology and Material Culture in General II (Jordan, Eastern Europe)
- 4.1.2.1. The Culture History of the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Complex at Petra, Jordan (Zbigniew T. Fiema, Amman, Jordan)
- 4.1.2.2. The Carbonized Papyri from the Early Byzantine Church of Petra (Jaakko Frösén, Helsinki, Finland)
- 4.1.2.3. Nufaru (Département de Tulcea) - cité byzantine fortifiée, au Bas-Danube (Xe-XIIIe siècles) (Gheorghe Manucu Adamesteanu, Bucharest, Romania)
- 4.1.2.4. Die Bedeutung des Ausgrabungen in Chersonesos für die Byzansarchäologie (Alla I. Romanchuk, Ekatarinburg, Russia)
- 4.1.2.5. The Settlement of Zolotoe Vostochnoe v bukhte in the East Crimea (The Kerch Peninsula) (Sergej Mockrousov, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.1.3. Pottery and Glass
- 4.1.3.1. The Models of the Organisation of Potter's Craft in the Early Byzantine Period in the Northern Black Sea Coast Area (Yu. Ivashenko, Russia)
- 4.1.3.2. Pottery Deposits of Genoese Caffa (Stratigraphy and Chronology) (Andrei Sazanov, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.1.3.3. Pottery from St. Nicholas Church in Myra (Meryem Acara, Ankara, Turkey)
- 4.1.3.4. Bracelets en verre byzantins, découverts dans la cité de Nufaru (Xe-XIIIe siècles) (Ingrid D. Poll, Bucharest, Romania)
- 4.1.4. Endangered Monuments
- 4.1.4.1. The Present Condition of the Georgian Monuments in Tao-Klardjetie in Northeast Anatolia (Mine Leube, Bruck a.d. Mur, Austria)

4.2. Architecture

4.2.1. Churches. Palaces. Fortifications

- 4.2.1.1. The Roots of Temple Consciousness in Christian and Muslim Tradition (Sharif M. Shukurov, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.2.1.2. Observations of the Architectural Sculpture Workshops of the Early Byzantine and Early Umayyad Periods (Lawrence E. Butler, Fairfax, Virginia, USA)
- 4.2.1.3. Die Raumkomposition der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel (Alexei Kometch, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.2.1.4. Les églises des forteresses paléobyzantine de Dalmatie (Pascale Chevalier, Split, Croatia)
- 4.2.1.5. О классификации и генезисе крестово-купольных

- построек в свете современных данных и теория (Anatol M. Vysotskij, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.2.1.6. Un palais au village de Lykhni en Abkhazie (IX-X s.) dans le contexte de l'architecture domestique byzantine (Liudmila Khroushkova, Moscow, Russia)
- 4.2.1.7. Byzantinische Monumente von Thessaloniki in Beschreibungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (Sappho Tambaki, Thessaloniki, Greece)
- 4.2.1.8. The Impact of Byzantine Architecture after 1453 (Dimitrios Tsikaras, Thessaloniki, Greece)

5. Art (Øystein Hjort)

5.1. Mural Paintings and Mosaics

5.1.1. Mural Paintings and Mosaics before 1204

- 5.1.1.1. Reflections on the enigmatic 'Lady of Carthage' mosaic (Bente Kiilerich, Bergen, Norway)
- 5.1.1.2. Byzantine Fresco Paintings in the Ölüdeniz Area, Southwest Turkey (Kazuo Asano, Kariya, Japan)
- 5.1.1.3. The Episkope of Santorine [two projectors] (Phane Drossoyianni, Athens, Greece)
- 5.1.1.4. Ветхий и Новый Завет в древних росписях первого яруса Софии Киевской (I.A. Golovanj, Kiev, Ukraine)
- 5.1.1.5. Die Mosaiken des Michael-Klosters in Kiew und die byzantinische Kunst vom Ende des 11ten - Anfang des 12ten Jahrhunderts (Olga S. Popova, Moscow, Russia)
- 5.1.1.6. Intimations of Immortality: Death and the Design of St. Panteleimon, Nerezi (Ida Sinkevic, Easton, Pennsylvania, USA)

5.1.2. Monumental Paintings and Mosaics after 1204

- 5.1.2.1. Il fenomeno della sovrapposizione e della ridipintura nelle raffigurazioni ad affresco rupestri: alcuni esempi in Basilicata, Italia (Elena Marcato, Bologna, Italy)
- 5.1.2.2. A New Chronology for the Historic Portraits in Psača (Zagorka Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Skopje, F.Y.R. of Macedonia)
- 5.1.2.3. L'artiste et l'église au XVIe siècle en Grèce (Athanasios Semoglou, Paris, France)
- 5.1.2.4. Un atelier "italo-byzantin" à Chypre dans la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle (Stella Frigerio-Zeniou, Geneva, Switzerland)
- 5.1.2.5. Artistic Trends in Post-Byzantine Monumental Painting in Thessaly, Central Greece, During the First Half of the 17th Century (Evangelia Sampanikou, Trikala, Greece)

5.2. Icons, Miniatures, Carvings, Sculpture, and Textiles

5.2.1. Icons in General I (Greece, Italy, Spain)

- 5.2.1.1. Il Corpus Internazionale della pittura monumentale e il progetto di ricerca "Ricuperi Bizantini in Italia" (Mara Bonfioli, Rome, Italy)
- 5.2.1.2. Quelques icônes en or de l'époque des Paléologues (la

- personnalité des donateurs) (Vera N. Zaleskaya, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 5.2.1.3. Concordia Apostolorum: The Embrace of Saints Peter and Paul, a Palaeologian Icon in Bologna (Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Athens, Greece)
- 5.2.1.4. Icons From the Ecclesiastical Museum of Serres - a First Presentation (in Greek) (Angiliki Strati, Thessaloniki, Greece)
- 5.2.2. Icons in General II (Russia)
- 5.2.2.1. The Icons of the Middle of the 11th to the Beginning of the 12th Century (Engelina Smirnova, Moscow, Russia)
- 5.2.2.2. Two Early Russian Icons in the Stockholm National Museum (Ulf Abel, Stockholm, Sweden)
- 5.2.2.3. Late Russian Cast Metal Icons (Jyrki Lammi, Helsinki, Finland)
- 5.2.3. Movable Icons and Miniatures as communicators of technique, artistic ideas, motifs and iconographic programmes
- 5.2.3.1. L'espace et le temps dans l'illustration des "Oracles" de Léon par Georges Klontzas (Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, Bousval, Belgium)
- 5.2.3.2. Zur Frage des Ursprungs des illuminierten kaiserlichen Menologiums aus der Sammlung des Moskauer historischen Museums (Syn. Gr. 183/Vlad. 376) (Elina Dobrynina, Moscow, Russia)
- 5.2.3.3. The Icon "King Manuel's Saviour" and the Related Legend in the History of Novgorod Church (Elissa Gordienko, Novgorod, Russia)
- 5.2.3.4. Committenza artistica e produzione di codici sotto Anna di Savoia (1341-1347) (Mauro Della Valle, Rome, Italy)
- 5.2.3.5. Angelos: A New Discovery (John Lindsay Opie, Rome, Italy)
- 5.2.3.6. The Workshop of the Ritzos Family and the Cretan School of the 15th Century (Yuri Piatnitsky, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 5.2.3.7. "Byzance après Byzance": An Illuminated Manuscript Case (Constanța Costea, Bucharest, Romania)
- 5.2.4. Byzantine Crosses, Enamels and Reliquaries
- 5.2.4.1. Des croix byzantines de procession de Tarnovgrad (Konstantin Totev, Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria)
- 5.2.4.2. Byzantine or Islamic Enamels at Dumbarton Oaks? (Stephen R. Zwirn, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 5.2.4.3. A Byzantine Arontius-Martyr's Reliquary from the 11th Century (L.A. Skop & H.P. Skop-Druziuk, Lviv, Ukraine)
- 5.2.5. Byzantine Sculpture
- 5.2.5.1. Alcuni Retrovamenti Scultorei da Istanbul (Asnu Bilban Yalçın, Istanbul, Turkey)
- 5.2.5.2. Sculpture and Furnishings of the St. Nicholas Church (in Myra) (Sema Alpaslan, Ankara, Turkey)
- 5.2.5.3. The Reliefs with the Warrior Saints of the Second Half of the 11th-12th Centuries from Kiev (Elizaveta I. Archipova, Kiev, Ukraine)

5.2.5.4. Παρατηρήσεις στη Βυζαντινή γλυπτική του Μυστρα - Παλαιολογεία τεμπλα (Palaeologean Sculpture of Mystras) (Aristea Kavvadia-Spondilis, Athens, Greece)

5.2.6. Byzantine Textiles

5.2.6.1. On the Trail of an Ancient Technique (Lise Warburg, Copenhagen, Denmark)

5.2.6.2. Неизвестная плащаница XVI в. из Национальное Музея в Львове (Maria Gelytovych, Lviv, Ukraine)

5.3. Iconography

5.3.1. Iconography I (General Topics)

5.3.1.1. The Protoevangelion of James, Fallacious Source of Marian Iconography (Ioanna Zervou Tognazzi, Rome, Italy)

5.3.1.2. Le Chemin de Croix. Iconographie et typologie du sujet dans l'art byzantin (Andromaque Katselaki, Athens, Greece)

5.3.1.3. Serpent and Peacock Images in Byzantine Art (in Russian) (Raissa Amirbekian, Yerevan, Armenia)

5.3.1.4. The Child's Sarcophagus of the King Danylo Halytsky's Times (H.P. Skop-Druziuk & L.A. Skop, Lviv, Ukraine)

5.3.1.5. The Forgotten Unity and Quaternity Symbol (L. Geoffrey C. Martin, Chester, United Kingdom)

5.3.1.6. Priest in Prayer in Byzantine Iconography (Maria Ionesco-Hunciag, Troy, Michigan, USA)

5.3.1.7. The Theology of Schism and the New Images of Christ in Byzantine Church Decoration (Alexei Lidov, Moscow, Russia)

5.3.2. Iconography II (Constantinople, Greece)

5.3.2.1. A Corpus of Byzantine Calendars (Gunilla Åkerström-Haugen, Gothenburg, Sweden)

5.3.2.2. Hagia Sophia: The Two Portraits of the Emperors with Moneybags as a Functional Setting (Natalia Teteriatnikov, Washington D.C., USA)

5.3.2.3. The Palaeologan Iconography of the Chora Church and its Relation to Greek Antiquity (Anne Karahan, Stockholm, Sweden)

5.3.2.4. Ein iconographisches Kleinod der Kariye Camii, Grab E (Marina Mundt, Bergen, Norway)

5.3.2.5. The Iconographic Programme of the Katholikon of the Pantanassa Monastery at Mistra (Melita Emmanuel, Athens, Greece)

5.3.2.6. St. Pelagia, a cycle of her life in the Church of St. Pelagia at Ano Viannos (Crete) (Tom van Essenbergh, Rijswijk, The Netherlands)

5.3.3. Iconography III (the Rest of the Balkans)

5.3.3.1. Restoring the Lost Identities to the Fourteenth Century Prophets in the Dome of St. George, Sofia (Ljubica D. Popovich, Nashville, Tennessee, USA)

5.3.3.2. A Gnadenstuhl in Crete and its Significance (Ioannis

(Günther S. Henrich, Hamburg, Germany)

7.3.2.9. Wer war der König der Daken in einem Briefe des Theodoros Gazes? (Petar Rokai, Novi Sad, Yugoslavia)

7.4. Thought

7.4.0.1. Analogy in the anthropological thoughts of St. Maximus, the Confessor (7th Century) (In Russian) (Aleksej V. Kuznetsov, Moscow, Russia)

7.5. History of Science and Education

7.5.1. Medicin, Mathematics

7.5.1.1. Traces of Neoplatonism in a Byzantine Medical Commentator: The Case of John of Alexandria (about 600 A.D.) (John M. Duffy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA) (Tuesday-Friday)

7.5.1.2. Über das große byzantinische Rechenbuch aus dem Jahre 1436 (Stefan Deschauer, Dresden, Germany)

7.5.2. History of Education

7.5.2.1. Schooling in the Palaeologian Period (Franz Tinnefeld, Munich, Germany)

7.6. History of Mentalities

7.6.1. How Did the Byzantines Experience Time?

7.6.1.1. Byzantine Concepts of Time (Michael Bibikov, Moscow, Russia)

7.6.1.2. Did the Emperor and his people share the same time? Notes on the use of time in 10th century Byzantium (Christine Angelidi, Athens, Greece)

7.6.2. What Frightened the Byzantines?

7.6.2.1. Freisinn oder Angst? Die moralischen Dominanten zwei Korporationsgruppen der byzantinischen Gesellschaft (Margarita Poliakovskaja, Ekaterinburg, Russia)

7.6.2.2. *The Oracles of Leo the Wise*: a hermetic text (Jeannine Vereecken, Gent, Belgium)

7.6.3. Byzantine Self-Image and Identity

7.6.3.1. Malchus of Philadelphia and the Rise of Byzantium (Frank M. Clover, Madison, Wisconsin, USA)

7.6.3.2. The Identity of the Byzantine Province in the 12th Century (Vasiliki Nerantzi-Varmazi, Thessaloniki, Greece)

7.6.3.3. Perdikas von Ephesos und seine Beschreibung Jerusalems: die Heiligen Stätten, gesehen von einem Byzantiner des 14. Jahrhunderts (Theoni Baséu-Bárabas, Athens, Greece)

7.6.3.4. La notion de la ville d'après une "lettre" de Manuel Chrysolaras (Antonia Kioussopoulou, Athens, Greece)

8. Auxiliary Disciplines

8.1. Palaeography and Codicology

8.1.1. Palaeography

8.1.1.1. New Identifications of Handwriting in 10th and 11th Century

Greek Manuscripts (Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, Glenmont, New York, USA)

8.1.2. Codicology and Manuscripts

- 8.1.2.1. Ways and By-Ways of the *Computus Graecorum*: The Evidence of Cas. 641 (Luciana Cuppo Csaki, Lake Peekskill, New York, USA)
- 8.1.2.2. Byzantine Illuminations in the Kongelige Bibliothek (Royal Library in Copenhagen) (Elisabeth Piltz, Uppsala, Sweden)
- 8.1.2.3. Glagolitic, Greek and Oriental Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (Svetlana O. Vjalova, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 8.1.2.4. The Tver Manuscript the of Chronicle of Georgius the Monk: Inscriptions on the Frontispiece Illuminations and Marginalia. New Facts (Tatiana Anisimova, Moscow, Russia)
- 8.1.2.5. Jean Chortasménos restaurateur du Laur. 85,1, manuscrit dit "l'Océan" (Michel Cacouros, Paris, France)
- 8.1.2.6. Un'esemplare della "Retorica" di Aristotele copiato da Massimo Planude e Giovanni Zaride (Immaculada Perez Martin, Madrid, Spain)

8.2. Epigraphy

- 8.2.0.1. Un sarcophage-reliquaire conservé au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève (Marielle Martianiani-Reber, Geneva, Switzerland)

8.3. Diplomatics

- 8.3.0.1. Zum Stand der Neubearbeitung von Franz Dölgers "Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches" an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Andreas Erich Müller, Munich, Germany)

8.4. Sigillography

8.4.1. Sigillography I

- 8.4.1.1. Siegel als Quelle für Slawen und Slawenarchonten in Griechenland (Werner Seibt, Vienna, Austria)
- 8.4.1.2. Bekannte und unbekannte Makremboliten-Siegel (Herbert Hunger, Vienna, Austria)
- 8.4.1.3. The Seals of Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1240-1261) in the Collections of St. Petersburg (Valerij P. Stepanenko, Ekatarinburg, Russia)
- 8.4.1.4. A Unique Find of a Group of Byzantine Lead Seals from Cherson (in Russian) (Nikolaj Alexeenko, Sevastopolj, Ukraine)
- 8.4.1.5. Sudak Archive of Seals. New Finds (Elena V. Stepanova, St. Petersburg, Russia)

8.4.2. Sigillography II

- 8.4.2.1. Le ravitaillement de Constantinople aux Xe/XIe siècles selon quelques sceaux d'hôrreiaroi (Jean-Claude Cheynet, Hanches, France)
- 8.4.2.2. Über einen neuen Fund aus Sudak (Valentina Šandrovskaja, St. Petersburg, Russia)

- VI (Theodora Antonopoulou, Washington D.C., USA)
- 6.4.2.4. Andrew of Crete's Homily "De humana vita et de defunctis": A Re-evaluation (Mary B. Cunningham, Derby, United Kingdom)
- 6.4.2.5. Anastasius of Sinai the Preacher (Joseph Munitiz, Oxford, United Kingdom)
- 6.4.2.6. Some Methods Used in Byzantine Rhetoric as Reflected by Euthimius the Athonite in his Georgian Translations (Ketevan Bezarashvili, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 6.4.2.7. Citations and Allusions From the Writings of the Church Fathers in the Homelies of John Mandakuni (in Russian) (Lusic Stepanian, Yerevan, Armenia)

6.4.3. Hagiography

- 6.4.3.1. Compositional Peculiarities of "The Life of St. Nino" as the Proof of its Antique Age (Maia Nachkebia, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 6.4.3.2. Saint Andrew the Fool's Body Language (José Simón Palmer, Barcelona, Spain)
- 6.4.3.3. The Date of the *Life of St. Niphon* (BHG 1371z): New Evidence (Sergey A. Ivanov, Moscow, Russia)
- 6.4.3.4. La "Vie" de Saint Niphon - valeur typologique d'une source hagiographique (Tudor Teoteoi, Bucharest, Romania)

7. Language, Literature, and Thinking

7.1. Philology and Bibliography

7.1.1. Language

- 7.1.1.1. Die theologische Sprache der "Oratio catechetica magna" Gregors von Nyssa (Tina Dolidse, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 7.1.1.2. Evolution du grec en période médiévale: Les cas de la Macédoine et de Chypre (Anna Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, Nicosia, Cyprus)

7.1.2. Collections

- 7.1.2.1. A Metaphrastic Project of the Early 14th Century? (John C. Davis, Athens, Greece)

7.1.3. Translations

- 7.1.3.1. Greek Manuscript No. 1186 of the Monastery of St. Catherine (at Mount Sinai) and the old Russian version of "Christian Topography" by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Elena K. Piotrovskaja, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 7.1.3.2. Purple-Born Language and Mastery of Rhapsodist-Translators (Liana Kvirikashvili, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 7.1.3.3. The Place of Old Georgian Translations in the Study of Maximus the Confessor's Heritage (Ani Chantladze, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 7.1.3.4. Old Georgian Translations of Maximus the Confessor's "Dispute with Pyrrhus" (Lela Khoperia, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 7.1.3.5. The Syriac text of the "Book of Hierotheos" and the Georgian Version of the Areopagitic Corpus (N.B. Popkhadze, Georgia)
- 7.1.3.6. К вопросу о структуре армянского филоновского

- κορπυσα (Olga Vardazarian, Yerevan, Armenia)
- 7.1.3.7. Byzantinism and Modernism: Some Notes on the Swedish Poet Hjalmar Gullberg's translation of Romanos the Melode's Kontakion "On the Nativity" (Helena Bodin, Stockholm, Sweden)
- 7.1.3.8. Translating an Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds: Words Amusing and Intriguing (George Baloglou, Oswego, New York, USA & Nick Nicholas, Parkville, Victoria, Australia)

7.2. Literature

7.2.1. Byzantine Literature

- 7.2.1.1. More Than Meets the Eye: Julian the Apostate's "Symposium" (Sarolta A. Takács, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA)
- 7.2.1.2. Saffo e Bisanzio (Anna Lucia di Lello-Finuoli, Rome, Italy)
- 7.2.1.3. La μύμησις: antico e bizantino (Melina Arco Magrí, Messina, Italy)
- 7.2.1.4. Formen byzantinischer Autobiographie (Martin Hinterberger, Vienna, Austria)

7.2.2. Post-Byzantine Literature

- 7.2.2.1. The Image of "Byzantium-Ethiopia" in 16th Century Moscow's Literature (Mikhail Krivov, Solnetchnogorsk, Russia)

7.3. Historiography

7.3.1. Early Byzantine Historiography

- 7.3.1.1. Le peuple chrétien chez Socrate, Sozomène et Théodoret (Ivan V. Krivouchine, Ivanovo, Russia)
- 7.3.1.2. Procopius of Caesarea in the Context of History and Historiography (Alexandra A. Chekalova, Moscow, Russia)
- 7.3.1.3. The Plot in Byzantine Chronography (Ja. N. Ljubarskij, St. Petersburg, Russia)

7.3.2. Later Byzantine Historiography

- 7.3.2.1. The use of Theodore Lector in the Chronicle of Theophanes (Roger D. Scott, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia)
- 7.3.2.2. L'image d'Alexandre le Grand chez les chroniqueurs byzantins (Corinne Jouanno, Paris, France)
- 7.3.2.3. Towards a Biography of Michael Psellos (Eva de Vries-van der Velden, Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
- 7.3.2.4. Anna Comnena as Political Historian (Sverre Bagge, Bergen, Norway)
- 7.3.2.5. Die Zitate in der *Alexias* Anna Komnenas (Dieter Roderich Reinsch, Berlin, Germany)
- 7.3.2.6. The Reflection of Contemporary Tendencies in The Chronicle of Michael Glykas (12th Century) and its Impact in the Following Centuries (Ljudmila T. Avilushkina, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 7.3.2.7. The Other as a Fate. The Westerners in the Historical Writings of Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niketas Choniates (Dimitar Dimitrov, Budapest, Hungary)
- 7.3.2.8. Onomatologisches zur Tocco-Chronik (in griechischer Sprache)

- 6.2.3.4. Kaiser Manuel I, Heinrich der Löwe und das "Filioque". Der Prozeß gegen den Sachsenherzog in ökumenischer Sicht" (R. Staats, Kiel, Germany)
- 6.2.3.5. Russian Pilgrimage to Byzantium and its Aftermath Up to the Present (Ismo Pellikka, Savonlinna, Finland)
- 6.2.3.6. Karelian, Finnish and Russian Pilgrimage to the Monastery of Walaam (H. Kilpeläinen, Finland)

6.3. Music

6.3.1. Music 1 - Greek Tradition

- 6.3.1.1. The Melisms in the Hymns for Stauroproskynesis by the Emperor Leo VI (Annette Jung, Copenhagen, Denmark)
- 6.3.1.2. Musical Analysis of Kalophonic Stichera in the Second Authentic Mode: Some Remarks (Clara Adsuara, Copenhagen, Denmark)
- 6.3.1.3. An "Abridged" Analysis of Heirmologion and Sticherion Melodies of the Forth Authentic Mode. Some Observations (Ioannis Papathanassiou, Athens, Greece)
- 6.3.1.4. Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch der "megala semadia" im Sticherarium Ambrosianum A 139 Sup. (Maria Alexandru, Bonn, Germany)
- 6.3.1.5. Some remarks on the history of the Byzantine stichera-prosomoia (late 7th-13th Century) (Irina Schkolnik, Kiel, Germany)
- 6.3.1.6. The Anthology as a Book of Musical Synthesis (Svetlana Kujumdzieva, Sofia, Bulgaria)
- 6.3.1.7. The Order for the Gospel of Sunday Matins in Akolouthiai Manuscripts (Alexander Lingas, Vancouver, Canada)

6.3.2. Music 2 - Byzantium and Russia

- 6.3.2.1. The Adaptation Problems of Byzantine Culture in the Russian Singing of the 12th Century (G. Aleksejeva, Russia)
- 6.3.2.2. The Old Russian Notated Parakletike: Its Origin, Staff and Correlation With Neumatic Versions of the Old Russian Hirmologium (in Russian) (Irina Lozovaya, Russia)
- 6.3.2.3. Musical Formulas of the Byzantine-Russian Heirmologion: General Principles of Classification (Marina Schkolnik, Kiel, Germany)
- 6.3.2.4. Old-Byzantine Sources of the Slavic "Izborny" (Selected) Oktoechos of the 14th Century (Olga Krasheninnikova, Moscow, Russia)
- 6.3.2.5. Византийская идея 'исона' в многоголосной музыке Срепневековой России (A.V. Konotop , Russia)
- 6.3.2.6. Die byzantinische Tradition der neuen melismatischen Kirchengesänge in Rußland vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert (Galina Poshidajewa, Krasnogorsk, Russia)
- 6.3.2.7. Migration of early Byzantine Chant Tradition throughout the Orthodox Slavic World (Nina Konstantinova Ulff-Møller, Denmark)

6.3.3. Music 3 - Byzantium and other Eastern Countries

- 6.3.3.1. L'Opuscul "Sur l'origine des modes" attribué à Basile de Césarée dans les sources médiévales arméniennes (Anna Arevshatian, Yerevan, Armenia)
- 6.3.3.2. Byzantine Chant and the Early Slavic Sources (Nicolas Schidlovsky, Glen Head, New York, USA)
- 6.3.3.3. Greek Chants in the Ukrainian Hymnographical Anthology "Heirmologion" (Yurii Yasinovskyi, Lviv, Ukraine)
- 6.3.3.4. The System of the Byzantine Church Music and the Orthodox Church Music in Finland (Hilkka Seppälä, Joensuu, Finland)
- 6.3.3.5. The Structure of Partess (Multi-Part) Singing Manuscripts of the Kiev Collection (Tanja Kompaniec, Kiev, Ukraine)

6.3.4. Music 4 - Manuscripts

- 6.3.4.1. Ioasaph Pantikratorinos, Composer and Scribe of Musical Manuscripts (J. Raastedt, B. Schartau, Oslo, Norway, Christian Troelsgaard, Copenhagen, Denmark)
- 6.3.4.2. A Catalogue of 17th Century Manuscripts in Romania (Ozana Irina Alexandrescu, Bucharest, Romania)
- 6.3.4.3. Quelques copistes grecs de manuscrits de musique byzantine des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles dans les collections de Roumanie (Daniel Suceava, Bucharest, Romania)
- 6.3.4.4. Byzantine Musical Manuscripts of National Library of Russia (Thésès) (Evgeny V. Gertsman, St. Petersburg, Russia)

6.4. Hymnography, Homiletics and Hagiography

6.4.1. Hymnography

- 6.4.1.1. Mariological Aspects of the Hymn Akathistos (Leena Mari Peltomaa, Vienna, Austria)
- 6.4.1.2. L'évolution musicale de l'hymne Akathiste (Flora Kriticou, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, France)
- 6.4.1.3. La Relation texte-mélodie dans une version kalophonique , du XIVème siècle, de l'Hymne Acathiste (Adriana Sirli, Paris, France)
- 6.4.1.4. The role of the Akathistos hymn in the painted programme of the Pantanassa at Mistra (D.J. Felton, Brighton, United Kingdom)
- 6.4.1.5. The Performance of the Liturgy in the Great Church, A.D. 1200: A Precious Source from Novgorod (George P. Majeska, College Park, Maryland, USA)
- 6.4.1.6. Evolution Stages of the Byzantine Rite in Slav Copies of Feodor Studite's Typikon (Elena Oukhanova, Moscow, Russia)
- 6.4.1.7. Russian Hymnography and Hesychasm (Per - Arne Bodin, Stockholm, Sweden)

6.4.2. Homiletics

- 6.4.2.1. The Homily As Historical Document: Exploring the problematic via John Chrysostom (Wendy Mayer, Adelaide, South Australia)
- 6.4.2.2. Severus of Antioch (512-518): the preacher and his audience (Pauline Allen, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia)
- 6.4.2.3. Towards a Critical Edition of the Homilies of the Emperor Leo

- Spatharakis, Leiden, The Netherlands)
- 5.3.3.3. Les Apparitions du Christ après sa mort, à Kalenić (v. 1420): Rayonnement de l'Art Constantinopolitain (Draginja Simić-Lazar, France)
 - 5.3.3.4. Text [wall] image: New Iconographical and Semiotic Approaches to Post-Byzantine Moldavian Churches (Nicoletta Isar, Paris, France)
 - 5.3.3.5. La grande croix de la première iconostase de l'église reconstruite de St. Naum d'Ohrid (Petar Miljković-Peppek, Skopje, F.Y.R. of Macedonia)
- 5.3.4. Iconography IV (Russia, Ukraine, Armenia)
- 5.3.4.1. Notes on the Programme of the Murals of St. Sophia in Novgorod 1108 (Lev Lifshitz, Moscow, Russia)
 - 5.3.4.2. Notes on the Programme of the Murals of the Transfiguration Cathedral in the Mirož Monastery in Pskov (Olga Etinhof, Moscow, Russia)
 - 5.3.4.3. The theme of the "Great Entrance" in Russian Monumental Painting of the second half of the 16th Century (Tatyana Samoylova, Moscow, Russia)
 - 5.3.4.4. Development of Byzantine Iconography Tradition in Ukrainian Antimensia of the 17th Century (in Russian) (Oksana Jurchyshyn, Lviv, Ukraine)
 - 5.3.4.5. The Image of St. Nicolas in the Funeral, Liturgical and Iconographical Tradition (Irina A. Shalina, St. Petersburg, Russia)
 - 5.3.4.6. Commentaries of Canon-Tables (Vigen Ghazarian, Yerevan, Armenia)

6. Church

6.1. Theology

6.1.1. Byzantine Theology I

- 6.1.1.1. The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany (Merja Merras, Lahti, Finland)
- 6.1.1.2. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite: An Introduction to His Fraud (David B. Evans, Fresh Meadows, New York, USA)
- 6.1.1.3. L'Apocalypse de Theotokos dans le context patristique (Olena Sirtsova, Kiev, Ukraine)
- 6.1.1.4. Iconoclasm after Theophilos' death: Who was interested? (Patricia Karlin-Hayter, Brussels, Belgium)
- 6.1.1.5. The Newly Discovered Apostle and the Problem of Christianization of Byzantium (Natela Vachnadze, Karlo Kutsia, Tbilisi, Georgia)

6.1.2. Byzantine (and Postbyzantine) Theology II

- 6.1.2.1. The Recognition of Saints in the Middle Byzantine Period (Caren F. Calendine, Columbus, Ohio, USA)
- 6.1.2.2. Les deux traditions théologiques et les "Dialogues" de Nicéas de Maronée (XII s.) (Alexei Barmine, Moscow, Russia)
- 6.1.2.3. Die Lehre des Gregorios Sinaites in ihrer Relation zur Dogmatik und zur Wissenschaftlichkeit im Sinne der

- Aufklärung (Hans-Veit Beyer, Russia)
- 6.1.2.4. Byzantine Theological Bases of the Orthodox Church and Future (Deniza Sumbadze, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 6.1.2.5. Gabriel Severos' "Syntagmation" and its Ukrainian Translation (Ostrih 1603) (Andrii Yasinovskyi, Lviv, Ukraine)

6.1.3. Byzantine Views on the Jewish Faith, and Islam

- 6.1.3.1. Die byzantinische Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur (Andreas Külzer, Köln, Germany)
- 6.1.3.2. Bartholomeus of Edessa on Muhammad. A critical evaluation (Daniel J. Sahas, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada)

6.2. Church History

6.2.1. Church History I (General)

- 6.2.1.1. Byzance et les Conciles oecuméniques (Vsevolod L. Kerov, Moscow, Russia)
- 6.2.1.2. Die Pentarchietheorie, ein Modell der Kirchenleitung (F.R.Gahbauer, Germany)
- 6.2.1.3. The Golan Heights of Palaestina Secunda: A Monastic Region in Byzantine Times (Irfan Shahîd, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 6.2.1.4. The Change in Status of Byzantine Monasteries from Male to Female and Vice-versa (Alice-Mary Talbot, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 6.2.1.5. Les plaintes d'un *didascale*: Léon Valianitès (Marina Loukaki, Athens, Greece)

6.2.2. Church History II (Balkans, Georgia, Armenia)

- 6.2.2.1. On the Church History of Salonika in the Second Half of the 4th Century (Mitko Panov, Skopje, F.Y.R. of Macedonia)
- 6.2.2.2. The Episcopacy of St. Methodios: Some Reconsiderations (Walter K. Hanak, Shepherdstown, West Virginia, USA)
- 6.2.2.3. Theophylactes of Ohrid and Alexius I Comnenus (Branko Panov, Skopje, F.Y.R. of Macedonia)
- 6.2.2.4. The Source Studying Problems of the Christianisation of Caucasus (Nino K. Aptsiauri, Tbilisi, Georgia)
- 6.2.2.5. The Mid V Century Armenian Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons and its Greek Original (Gohar Mouradian, Yerevan, Armenia)
- 6.2.2.6. The Relations Between Byzantine and Armenia Churches at the Beginning of the 8th Century (Mher Papyan, Yerevan, Armenia)
- 6.2.2.7. Documents on the Armenian-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Negotiations (1165-1178) (Azat A. Bozoian, Yerevan, Armenia)

6.2.3. Church History III (the Rest of Europe)

- 6.2.3.1. Normans and an Attempt of Christianisation of Russia in the Reign of Olga (Igor O. Kniazki, Kolomna, Russia)
- 6.2.3.2. La métropole de Tourkia. L'organisation de l'église byzantine en Hongrie au Moyen Âge (István Baán, Miskolc, Hungary)
- 6.2.3.3. Sul processo per eresia contro Bartolomeo da Simeri (XI-XII sec.) (Stefano Caruso, Palermo, Italy)

- 8.4.2.3. Arabo-byzantinischen Bleisiegel im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena (Claudia Sode and Stefan Heidemann, Jena, Germany)
- 8.4.2.4. Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel aus Ungarn (Charalampos Chotzakoglou, Vienna, Austria)

8.5. Numismatics

- 8.5.0.1. Justinian's Coins in Central Europe (Maciej Salamon, Kraków, Poland)
- 8.5.0.2. Coin Frequencies in 6th and 7th Century Palestine and Arabia: Social and Economic Implications (Alan G. Walmsley, Sidney, New South Wales, Australia)
- 8.5.0.3. Issues Concerning the Numismatic Record of Byzantine Iconoclasm (Anne L. McClanan, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA)

9. Instrumenta Studiorum, History of Byzantine Studies

9.1. Libraries and Archives

- 9.1.0.1. Notarial Archives of the Italian Consulates in the Black Sea, 13th-15th Centuries - an Attempt of Reconstruction (in Russian) (Sergej Karpov, Moscow, Russia)
- 9.1.0.2. Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Κύπρου· σημερινό στάδιο έρευνας - προοπτικές για ένα αρχείο (Medieval Monuments of Cyprus: State of Research and Perspectives for an Archive) (Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos, Nicosia, Cyprus)

9.2. Dictionaries, Inventories and Editions

- 9.2.0.1. An Illustrated Multilingual Lexicon of Byzantine Architectural and Sculptural Terms. Work done and future projects (Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, Maria Panayotidi, Athens, Greece)
- 9.2.0.2. "Glanz und Elend" der Patrologien von Migne (Georgios Fatouros, Berlin, Germany)
- 9.2.0.3. Die Edition der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: Stand und Aufgaben (Erich Lamberz, Munich, Germany)

9.3. Methodology

9.3.1. New Research methods

- 9.3.1.1. The World Wide Web Archive of Watermarks and Papers in Greek Manuscripts (Robert W. Allison, Lewiston, USA) - see Major Papers Volume, pp. 465-476
- 9.3.1.2. The Electronic Documentation of The Benaki Museum, Byzantine Collection (Anastasia Dandraki, Dimitris Parapadakis, Ifigenia Dionyziadou, Athens, Greece) - see Major Papers Volume, pp. 477-490
- 9.3.1.3. Relating Prosopography to Byzantium: The Development of the Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire's Computerised Relational Database (Dion Smythe, United Kingdom) - - see Major Papers Volume, pp. 491

9.4. History of Byzantine Studies

9.4.1. History of Byzantine Studies in General

- 9.4.1.1. From Tillemont to the Annales: Image and Influence of Byzantium in Modern European Literature and Historiography (Silvia Ronchey, Rome, Italy)
- 9.4.1.2. The Study of Origenes' Literary Heritage in Russia (S.M. Prokopyev, Ivanovo, Russia)
- 9.4.1.3. The Barberini production of Pachymeres (Thomas Cerbu, Athens, Georgia, USA)
- 9.4.1.4. Academy N.P. Kondakov. New Archive Documents 1917 - 1925 (Irin Kyzlasova, Moscow, Russia)
- 9.4.1.5. The Enemy to the South: Bulgarian Reflections of Byzantium (19th-20th cs.) (Annetta Ilieva, Sofia, Bulgaria)
- 9.4.1.6. The Present and Future of the Byzantine Studies in Turkey (Melek Delilbaşı, Ankara, Turkey)

9.4.2. Les byzantinistes de St. Petersburg

- 9.4.2.1. Russian and Western Byzantinologists in the Archives of Saint Petersburg: Collaboration or Competition? (Igor P. Medvedev, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 9.4.2.2. Die Forschungen zur byzantinischen Hagiographie in Rußland (Ende des 19. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts) (Ljudmila N. Saliwalowa, Kostroma, Russia)
- 9.4.2.3. Byzantinistik an der Universität Leningrad in den 30-er und 40-er Jahren (In Russian) (G.E. Lebedeva, St. Petersburg, Russia)
- 9.4.2.4. From the Scientific Heritage of the Academician N.P. Lichachev (the unpublished book "Byzantine Exagii") (Vera V. Guruljova, St. Petersburg, Russia)

10. Poster Communications

10.0.1. Byzantine Topics

- 10.0.1.1. The "Byzantines" as Seen by Themselves and by Others (Demetrios J. Constantelos, Pomona, New Jersey, USA)
- 10.0.1.2. Delphes paléochrétienne: la ville et sa ceramique (Platon Petridis, Athens, Greece)
- 10.0.1.3. Proto-Byzantine Architectural Transformations and Re-Shaping Public Space (Michael Milojević, Auckland, New Zealand)
- 10.0.1.4. Early Byzantine Domed Basilica (George Stricevic, Cincinnati, Ohio, USA)
- 10.0.1.5. A Lectionary of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (Tomoyuki Masuda, Saitama, Japan)
- 10.0.1.6. The role of the Akathistos hymn in the painted programme of the Pantanassa at Mistra (D.J. Felton, Brighton, United Kingdom)
- 10.0.1.7. An analysis of the Akathistos hymn concerning Text, Music and Illustrations (Nanna Schiødt, Copenhagen, Denmark)
- 10.0.1.8. The "Island of Cassandria" in the 15th Century (John R. Melville-Jones, Nedlands, Western Australia)

10.0.2. Post-Byzantine Topics

- 10.0.2.1. Dorotheos of Monemvasia: Towards a Scholarly Edition of a Problem Chronicle (Constantine Sakellaropoulos, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia)
- 10.0.2.2. Perceptions of Byzantine Art in 1940s Australia (Melissa Green, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia)

Syriac Christian Perceptions of Byzantium and the Byzantines
in the Period of the Crusades

Victoria Erhart (Dumbarton Oaks)

Anna Comnena has left behind her opinions on Oriental Christians, predominantly Armenian non-Chalcedonians who, in her mind, polluted the clear waters of Christianity with their heresy. Syriac Christians, in so far as they appear as a separate entity, were tarred with the same brush used to smear the Armenians. For their part, Syriac Christian historians have left behind portraits of Latin Crusaders every bit as unflattering as Latin depictions of the Byzantines, who responded in kind by depicting the Latins as barbarians. What is missing from this schema is an analysis of how the Syriac Christians viewed Byzantium and the Byzantines during the period of the Crusades, specifically the 12th century.

The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, the Anonymous Chronicle to the Year 1234 and both the Chronicon Syriacum and the Chronicon Ecclesiasticum by Bar Hebraeus contain accounts of Byzantines and their activities in relation to liberating the Christian sites of the Holy Land, ostensibly for the benefit of the Oriental Christian community. A close reading of these sources, however, forces one to ask a number of questions. Do the accounts preserved in these later Syriac sources date from the Crusader period or are they earlier accounts from now lost sources inserted into later historical accounts? Can one distinguish differences in Syriac depictions of Byzantines and Byzantium from the period of the Byzantine reconquest of portions of Mesopotamia in the 10th century under Emperor Phocas from depictions of Byzantines from the Crusader period? How accurately informed were the Syriac Christians about contemporaneous Byzantine political and ecclesiastical affairs, particularly in the 12th century? How do these depictions differ from later descriptions preserved in the 13th century History of Yaballaha III? Is the information in the Syriac sources from eye-witnesses? By addressing these questions, and others, I will offer a summary of just how significant or insignificant Byzantium and the Byzantines were for the later Syriac Christian community.

John W. BARKER

University of Wisconsin-Madison (U.S.A.)

A Tale of Two Tondos: Tracing Venetian Loot from Byzantium after 1204 1102

Most of Venice's important Byzantine trophies--objects taken as loot during or after the Fourth Crusade--are well known and extensively studied, especially those now displayed in and around the great Ducal Basilica of San Marco. Even these, however, still involve many mysteries or unresolved questions as to their origins and the circumstances of their present locations and display.

Among the less spectacular and less familiar examples of these objects are a pair of marble tondos or paterae, now in quite separate locations. One is still to be found in Venice, mounted on the façade of a nondescript house in a small campiello near the Church of San Pantaleon. The other belongs to Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, D. C., where it is on display in this institution's lobby. They have long been recognized as closely related, part of a deliberate set. Dated generally to the twelfth century, they each show an Emperor in full state; identifications of these Emperors have varied, suggesting either Komnenian or Angelian sovereigns, with John II as a leading candidate in both cases. Nothing specific is known as to their origins, but they are presumed to be looted from Constantinople. Even more obscure is the ways they were first used in Venice, but I seek to address these questions in my ongoing researches.

One issue involves the circumstances of the present location of the tondo still in Venice: it is my hope that investigation of the history of the house where it is now mounted may add some information to our knowledge of the tondo's own history. At the same time, it may be possible to learn more about both of them through further investigation of the tondo in Washington. Before its acquisition by Dumbarton Oaks, it was part of the collection of members of the Hohenzollern family, who included in their holdings other antiquities from Venice. The most celebrated of these is the Veneto-Byzantine apse mosaic, of the tenth-twelfth centuries (?), that was installed in the neo-Romanesque Friedenskirche built in Potsdam near the Sanssouci complex by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1844-54. Other Venetian objects were placed in a special garden in this King's Klosterhof Palace. It seems likely that all these objects, including our tondos, came from a lively market in Venetian antiquities that flourished in the nineteenth century. Clarification of its transactions might give us eventual clues to the original location(s) in Venice of the tondos and to their display after transfer from Constantinople.

It is out of such explorations that I hope to develop a fuller picture of Venice's use of Byzantine objects for purposes of trophy display.

The Petropigi fortress.

Near the village of Petropigi, 20 kms east of Kavala, there is a fairly well-preserved ruin of a fortress. The monument is situated between the Rhodope mountains and the coastline, parallel to the modern road leading to Xanthi and Komotini. The close correspondence in orientation between the fortress and the road shows that the latter, at this point, at least, follows the original direction of the ancient Via Egnatia. The proximity to the road suggests that the fortress once served as a statio, a fortified trading post.

Under the auspices of the Norwegian Institute of Athens, the Petropigi fortress has been excavated since 1992 with a view to study its architecture and history. Its inner measurements, 29,3x29,6 m, correspond to 100x100 Roman feet, and it was originally constructed with two vertically placed gates, one in NW and one in SE, and two vertically placed towers, one in SW and one in NE. At a later date a new tower was added in SE, and at the same time both gates were strengthened by the addition of a portcullis. The fortress seems to be late Byzantine (12th-13th century), though the date of its earliest phase has not yet been established with certainty.

Inside the fortress a large building has been uncovered. It is constructed in a more sophisticated technique than the fortress, with stones framed by bricks. This building, which extends from one end of the fortress to the other, running E-W, is in all probability a hana, a guesthouse. Technically it is close to early Ottoman buildings in Western Thrace such as the imaret in Komotini or the hana in Traianoupolis, both built by the Ottoman conqueror Evren Gazi in the second half of the 14th century. In all probability the Petropigi hana is contemporary with these buildings or a little later. It gives an interesting example of the Ottoman invaders' use of traditional building techniques, and, in this case, of already existing structures, when they established themselves in Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. As testified by the discovery of a number of Ottoman coins, the Petropigi hana was in use till at least the end of the 16th century.

Transferable Skills? Byzantine Craftsmen in London 1440 - 1483

It is generally thought, largely on the basis of a letter of Cardinal Bessarion, that, by the 1440s, the Byzantine Empire had been completely overtaken by the West in all spheres of technical expertise. This idea is challenged the evidence of some documents the Public Record Office in London which show that, between at least 1441 and 1483, two gold wire drawers from Constantinople, named Andronicus and Alexius Effomatos, lived and worked in the English capital. It is argued that these craftsmen were welcomed because they specialised in making gold thread of a type which had long been manufactured in Byzantium but was superior in strength and economy to that produced in England. Indeed, since the earliest evidence for native English production of this type of gold thread dates from the period of their residence in London, there is at least the possibility that they actually introduced their craft into England, reversing the relative balance of technology as it is usually portrayed.

KHINTIBIDZE Elguja

The Creation of the Byzantine Version of "Barlaam and Ioasaph"
and the Christianization of the Rus

1211

"The Edifying Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph" gained unique popularity in medieval European literature through the Latin and Slavic redactions, translated from the Greek. The Greek redaction was created in Byzantium, but when and by whom is still a matter of controversy. Recently in an attempt to solve the mystery the question was posed in the following way: When did the need arise in the Byzantine empire to create a work of this type? Though in my view, it is not necessary to look for political or social causes of the creation of all major works of Byzantine literature, observation in the case of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* leads to an interesting conclusion.

The basic idea of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is propagation of Christianity. Underlying the plot of the work is the conversion of the country to Christianity by the King. The author of the Greek redaction accentuates the polemic with paganism and the apology of Christianity. The creation of such work was a pressing need in the interests of the Byzantine Royal Court and the Christian Church towards the end of the 980s. The greatest problem facing Byzantine diplomacy by this time was a drive towards the Christianization of the pagan Rus - the great and fierce northern neighbour of the Empire.

From the standpoint of content and ideology, the *Barlaam and Ioasaph Romance* has parallels with the story of the Christianization of Russia by the Kievan Prince Vladimir in 988 or 989. It should also be noted that the earliest trace of the spread of the Byzantine version of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is evidenced precisely in the Kievan Rus.

Name of Author:

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ELISAVETA TODOROVA, University of Cincinnati

Abstract Title and Text:

VIKINGS AND BYZANTINES: WORLDS OF TRADE

This paper compares the Scandinavian raids, attacks, trade, and settlements in the East of Europe during the Byzantine era with parallel events in the West in order to reevaluate the role and influence of Byzantium upon the Viking movements in the East. This study also attempts to identify and examine some of the new actors in international commerce during the Crusades, when Western merchants appeared on the scene. New trading patterns emerged between Byzantium and the European North: Some of them developed new routes, while others followed the established trail through Russia, already in use.

КУЛЬТ СВ. ДИМИТРИЯ В ВИЗАНТИИ И У СЛАВЯН. 1212

Св.Димитрий, как известно, относится к числу самых популярных святых как в Византии, так и у южных и восточных славян. Заслуга перенесения культа солунского святого на славянскую почву принадлежит Кириллу и Мефодию и их ученикам. Византийская традиция приспосабливалась славянскими народами к своим политическим и духовным нуждам, переосмысливалась. Культ св.Димитрия таким образом получал постепенно особое выражение у болгар, сербов и русских.

Для русской традиции почитания великомученика характерно чрезвычайно раннее становление культа в Киевском государстве и официальный княжеский путь его распространения и укрепления. По установившемуся сразу после крещения порядку русские князья и члены их семей принимали двойные имена - одно славянское и второе христианское в честь какого-либо святого. Каждый князь считал своим долгом сделать что-либо для увековечивания памяти своего небесного покровителя (построить храм, основать монастырь, перевести с греческого тексты, посвященные святому, и пр.). Имя Димитрий в качестве второго, христианского, имени у русских князей в XI-XIV вв. встречается очень часто. Этим, видимо, и объясняется почти повсеместное распространение культа святого. Особую роль в укреплении традиции почитания солунского мученика сыграли киевский князь Изяслав Ярославич, Всеволод Большое Гнездо и Дмитрий Донской.

Из всех качеств Димитрия Солунского: целитель, мироточец, защитник и воин - наибольшее значение у русских приобретает последнее. Он почитается прежде всего как покровитель воинов, наряду с другими универсальными святыми - Георгием Победоносцем и особо любимыми в Киевской Руси Борисом и Глебом. Вместе с тем восприятие в Византии св. Димитрия как преимущественно местного солунского святого, неразрывно связанного со своим городом и всегда стоящего на его страже, также нашел отражение в русской традиции. Для русских святой стал идеальным образцом патриота и защитника своей родины. Ему молились в осажденных городах, его поминали те, кто жертвовал собой ради отечества и т.д. Этот аспект в традиции почитания св.Димитрия был особенно актуальным в условиях постоянных междоусобиц и борьбы с внешним врагом.

Византия и Север (по находкам византийских стеклянных изделий за пределами византийской метрополии)

Стекольное производство Византии по объему, качеству и разнообразию производимой продукции представляет явление редкое в истории стеклоделия вообще и средневекового, в частности.

Виды, морфология и элитарный характер византийских изделий очевидны и не могут остаться незамеченными, особенно будучи найденными за пределами метрополии. Однако разные виды изделий: посуда, мозаика, оконное стекло, украшения (браслеты, перстни, бусы, вставки), экзагии, предметы игр и эталоны веса обладают настолько разной спецификой, что легче такие изделия разделять, чем объединять и тем более называть их все вместе византийскими. Сосуды IV-VI вв., найденные на Севере Европы, называют восточными (G. Eekholm, E. Straume), восточными (исламскими) согласно все называют резные сосуды X-XI вв., найденные на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке, в Средней Азии, Закавказье и в Европе; золоченные стеклянные бусы, найденные в Верхнем Поволжье, считают региональной продукцией.

Надежным критерием, руководствуясь которым можно было бы выделять стекла византийского происхождения, является их химический состав, технологии изготовления изделий и техника исполнения декора. Все эти характеристики тесно связаны с видами изделий и их морфологией.

Проведенные химико-технологические исследования, вписанные в археологический, историко-культурный и исторический контексты помогли составить корпус византийского стекла IV-XII вв., определить способы (торговля, знаки византийской куртуазии, императорские или дипломатические дары), направления и пути (южные: днепровский, донской, волжский, северокавказский, "янтарный" и северный, через Балтику и далее путем из "варяг в греки или на Северную Двину, Шексну, Белозеро и т.д.) проникновения византийского стекла на северные территории по отношению к Византии территории.

Aune Jääskinen, Director of the Museum of Foreign Art, Helsinki

REFLECTIONS OF BYZANTINE ART IN FINLAND

(with slides)

1215

Due to the geographical circumstances, Finland has, compared to the other Nordic countries, a different geopolitical position in Europe. The destiny of Finland has always been to both unite and separate eastern and western cultural heritage. The close contact with Eastern Europe has made my country a remote outpost of Byzantium in Northern Europe.

The Byzantine tradition was first received in the South-Eastern parts of Finland, the Finnish Karelia, where the orthodox faith became firmly rooted during the late Middle Ages. The monasteries of Valamo and Konevitsa, on the islands of Lake Ladoga, became the mediating centres. The tax records of the *Vodskaya pyatina*, Russian chronicles and the donation letters from the tsars, all testify to the economic, religious and cultural importance of these monasteries.

The Byzantine influences were transmitted to Ladogan Karelia mainly by the Russians. The best known representative for iconography of Byzantine origin, the Konevitsa icon of the Virgin, was also, according to tradition, brought to Karelia from Mount Athos in 1393 by the founder of the Konevitsa monastery, St Arseni, a monk from Novgorod. The original icon has not been preserved, but several copies from the 16th century are known. The composition is related to the Byzantine-Venetian iconography of the 14th century, especially the *Sterbini Diptych* group of Madonnas.

The written and artistic heritage connected with the most famous Karelian saint, Alexander of Svir (died 1533), also testifies to the contacts with both Novgorod and Moscow in the 16th century. Imposing proof of this can be seen until the 25 of November 1996 in Helsinki at the Museum of Foreign Art Sinebrychoff in the exhibition "Homage to St Alexander of Svir". The exhibition has been assembled in the State Russian Museum in St Petersburg.

The many wars between Sweden and Russia, with their shifting frontier lines have marked the destiny of Finland, and especially of Karelia until the year 1809, when Russia conquered Finland from Sweden and returned Karelia to the new-founded autonomous Finnish Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. As a consequence of the many wars a large part of the Byzantine and the ensuing early Russian artistic heritage in Karelia was destroyed.

Finland was liberated from Russia and won its independence in 1917. The Greek-Orthodox Church of Finland was also transferred from the Patriarchate of Moscow under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1923. The autonomous Finnish Orthodox Church was granted a status as the other State Church, beside the Lutheran Church, although it represents only a small minority of the population. The total number of members is at present 57 001.

During the Second World War (1939-1945) Karelia once again became a scene of war. A part of the area was ceded to the Soviet Union, but the people and all the works of art that were transferable were evacuated to the Finnish side. The orthodox population was relocated all over the country. Due to extensive museum-, exhibition- and information activities the orthodox culture, based on the Byzantine-Russian heritage, has now become widely known and understood in Finland.

The contemporary Finnish icon painting has also found its way back to the roots and now draws inspiration from Byzantine and early Russian styles.

Smolensk-Novgorod-Visby (Scandinavian Churches in Ancient Russian Cities and Russian Churches in Medieval Scandinavia)

In 1950ths the remains of rotunda with four pillars in interior were found in Smolensk. P.A Rappoport succeeded in proving it had been the "Latin Church" that have been numerously mentioned in texts of trade pacts between Smolensk, Riga and Gotland been concluded in 1229. The Smolensk rotunda is dated the 1170-1180ths. It is numbered among the type of centric churches widespread in 12. - 13. cc. in Scandinavia and Northern Germany and that were so called "kaufmannkirchen". We can mention the churches of that type in Schleswig and Schlammersdorf near Lubeck (Northern Germany), Hagby and Visby (Sweden), Bjorned and Roskild and also on Bornholm (Danmark) as the closest analogies to the Smolensk rotunda.

The churches of merchants from Northern Germany and Gotland were built also on their trade yards in Novgorod - the Church of St.Peter on the Nemetsky (German) yard and the Church of St.Olaf on the Gotsky (Gotland) yard. That buildings had not come down to our times, however there are good reasons to suppose that they were also centric tower-looked temples.

In turne in Visby on Gotland, there was a trade yard of Russian merchants. The stone church discovered by V.Falk during the excavations in Munken, Visby, is usually identified with the temple belonged to Russian merchant colony on Visby although the type of it has no direct analogies in the architecture of Ancient Russia. Meanwhile the Church of St.Lars built also in Visby in 13 c. was rather unusual among the Romanesque temples of Northern Europe for its plane. The scholars had turned attention to the similarity of its plan with the plan of the Church of Paraskeva Pyatnitsa in Novgorod (beginning of the 13.c.).

The analysis of some architectural forms of the Church of St.Lars (the construction of the sails in the basis of the crown parts, half-pillars on the face of apses, the symmetric stairs within the walls in the Western part of the temple) makes one to consider this similarity not to be accidental. It was, to all appearances, just the Church of Paraskeva Pyatnitsa that served as an immediate prototype of the Church of St.Lars in Visby. Significantly, the Church in Novgorod was built to the order of the corporation of merchants that traded with Gotland.

The Novgorod temple, in its turn, also had an immediate prototype - the Church of St.Mikhail Archangel in Smolensk. Thus, 3 large centres of international trade of Medieval Europe - Visby, Novgorod and Smolensk - in 12. - 13. cc. were the centres through which the interspread of temple architectural types from the Catholic North of Europe to the Orthodox Rus' and quite the reverse have been realized.

Elzara Khairedinova †221
(Simféropol, Ukraine)

**Le royaume du Bosphore et les invasions
barbares de la deuxième moitié du III s. ap. n.è.
(d'après les données des auteurs byzantins).**

Conformément aux informations des auteurs byzantins en 254 - 276 années ap. n.è. les barbares firent presque dix expéditions maritimes pillardes dans les provinces romaines de la péninsule des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure. La région du royaume du Bosphore et du Palus - Méotide fut le point de départ pour certaines de ces invasions: 254 an. - les barbares s'attaquèrent à Pityunte (Zosime); 256 an. - le raid vers Phase, Pityunte et Trébizonde (Zosime); 267 - 268 an. - l'expédition vers le côte ouest de la Mer Noire (Syncelle, Zonaras); 276 an. - les barbares traversèrent le Pont Euxin et ravagèrent les provinces Pont, Galatie, Cappadoce, Cilicie (Vie de Tacite, Zosime, Zonaras). Pour la réalisation de ces expéditions maritimes, les barbares prirent la flotte du royaume du Bosphore.

Les initiateurs des invasions étaient les peuplades germaniques. Parmi les participants des expéditions les sources écrites mentionnent les Boranes, les Hérules, les Urugondes et le plus souvent ils parlent des Goths. Les barbares furent désignés par les auteurs byzantins comme les Scythes, les Scythes de Bosphore et les Méotides. Ces termes il faut comprendre comme les indications géographiques. Ils signifient la place d'installation des barbares participé aux invasions (la région du royaume du Bosphore et du Palus - Méotide.

Lors d'incursions dans les provinces de l'Asie Mineure, les barbares capturèrent beaucoup d'habitants de ces pays (Grégoire le Thaumaturge, Passion de S.Athénogène de Pédachtoé). Les captifs furent emmenés dans la région du royaume du Bosphore. Parmi ces captifs furent les chrétiens. Cette circonstance favorisa pour la diffusion du christianisme dans le royaume du Bosphore.

Les données archéologiques, numismatiques et épigraphiques confirment et complètent les témoignages des auteurs byzantins concernant les expéditions entreprises par les barbares en deuxième moitié du III s. ap. n.è. de la région du royaume du Bosphore et du Palus - Méotide.

The Late Antique country necropolises of European Bosphorus.

The main source of our knowledge of the ethno-historical aspect of the Late Bosphorus history are necropolises. But if that of this State capital has been excavated for a long time, those country remained unknown until very recently. Only intensive work during last decade allows to make a great progress in their studying.

To date more than 150 various burial constructions (ditch graves, pits lined with trimmed slabs, undercut graves, vaults cut in the bedrock and catacomb graves) of the III-VI cc. A.D. have been excavated. For the burial rite established typical are the predominance of the the East orientation of the deads, one or several in a grave, (vaults exclusive), their supine position and using of coffins and sarcophagi. Among grave goods there are numerous adornments and small articles, mainly of bronze (rings, earrings, bracelets, fibulas, pendants, mirrors), plain wheel-made vessels of red clay, those hand-made, iron knives, coins. The latter make possible to date quite precise the burials uncovered. Nearly all the coins found are of the local Bosphorus issue, exclusive of small group of the Roman Provincial coinage (Gracian, Constantin I, Constancius, Theodosius I). The tomb material is quite numerous, but there are practically no precious articles in it. It is to be pointed out that all the burials of the period in question have been revealed only at the necropolises of the Azov Littoral settlements (Mys Ziuk, Zeleny Mys, Syrenevaya Bukhta, Salatchik, Siujurtash, Zamorskoe).

Monumental family vaults cut in the bedrock are of special interest. To date not less than 30 those burial constructions have been excavated at the necropolises mentioned. There are several variants of them differed in plan and number of burial chambers, ceiling form, presence of niches in which coffins were placed. Niches range in number from 1 to 6, chambers being 5 - 18 sq.m. in measuring. All vaults have long deep dromoses stepped and narrow short corridors with arched coverings. As a rule, there are small niches for lamps cut in the chamber walls. In some vaults additional constructions and architectural details were revealed: pilastres, steps by the niches, special pits. In some cases there were uncovered graves cut in dromos walls. In two chambers were cleaned inscriptions and pictures on the walls, in one - small relief images of human figures. Entrances were closed with massive slabs. Small barrows type of kurgan mark those vaults locations on the surface. Finds coming from the vaults are not numerous, as practically all of them have been robbed, though, fortunately, there are some exceptions. In principle, the collection of finds from them does not differ from that of common graves, but in some vaults were brought to light weapon, lamps, terracotta toys, beads, leaves of burial wreaths. Near the one vault entrance was uncovered a burial of two horses.

Formerly such construction have been known only at the necropolises of the greatest cities of the North Black Sea region. The most important is that the constructions in question are very typical for many East Mediterranean regions, from where they appeared to have been borrowed or brought to Bosphorus by the wave of refugees or migrants (people captured in the time of the Goth campaigns, persecuted Christians?) not before the mid III.c. A.D.

**Yuri Mogarichev
(Simferopol, Ukraine)
Byzantine rock architecture in
the Crimea.**

1223

In the Mountaneous Crimea about 100 cave constructions came into being in the second half of the 6th - 7th centuries in the fortresses of Eski-Kermen, Mangup, Chufut-Kale, Tepe-Kermen; they were built under direct supervision of Byzantine administration. They arose as a synthesis of Byzantine and local building tradition: the idea of building premises in the rock was brought to Taurica by Byzantine engineers, but they were built by local population and in accordance with the pattern of well-known underground constructions - vaults. These monuments are defensive in function.

In the 8th - the first half of the 10th centuries rock architecture in the Crimea declined due to the fact of including Taurica in Khazar Caganate, weakening of Byzantine influence and influx of new population, who were unfamiliar with the art of constructing premises the rock. Only two premises can be dated to this period substantially enough.

The end of the 10th - the beginning of the 11th centuries - the third quarter of the 15th century is the peack of rock architecture. It is known only as monuments belonging to Christian population, who were under the influence of Byzantine culture. There are about 1500 premises of this period which are located on the sites (Bakla, Chufut-Kale, Tepe-Kermen, Mangup) and in isolated cave monasteries (Shuldan, Chelter-Koba, Cheter-Marmara, the complex of Inkerman valley, Assumption monastery and, probably, Kachi-Kalion). The majority of secular cave constructions were of household fuction, 85% of them were barns for livestock.

From the end if the 10th - the beginning of the 11th centuries in the Crimea cave churches appeared, more than 50 of them date back to the 11th - 15th centuries.

After Turkish capture of the Crimea in 1475 rock architecture did not go out, but it did not develop - new cave constructions were not numerous.

BOGDANOVA NATALIA (MOSCOW)

THE CHRISTIANITY IN THE CRIMEA IN XIII-XV cc.

1224

Богданова Н.М. (Москва)

Христианство в Крыму в XIII-XV вв.

На протяжении всего средневековья Крым был одним из наиболее крупных политических, экономических и культурных центров Причерноморья. Характерная для этого региона полиэтничность населения в разные исторические эпохи обуславливала сосуществование здесь основных конфессиональных традиций.

С древности ведущую роль в Крыму играло христианство. Три автокефальных архиепископства, а со второй половины XIII в. - митрополии (Херсон, Готия, Сутдей и Фул), подчиненные Константинопольскому патриарху, окормляли православное население Крыма, имели на своем попечении многочисленные приходы в городах и сельских районах Таврики, а также монастыри, которые играли немаловажную роль в торгово-ремесленной деятельности византийских городов. Большое значение Константинопольский патриарх отводил крымским кафедрам в деле проведения миссионерской деятельности в Северном Причерноморье, Кавказе и Руси.

В XI-XII вв. в связи с притоком в области Северного Причерноморья армянского населения в Крыму широко распространяется монофизитство.

Активизация торгово-предпринимательской деятельности итальянского купечества в Черном море, последовавшая за падением Константинополя в 1204 г., сопровождалась и развитием латинского миссионерства в Крыму. Францисканцы и доминиканцы основывали монастыри, приходы, епископские кафедры, подчиненные Римскому престолу. Занимаясь проповедью среди местного населения, они порой обращали в католицизм целые народности Крыма. Особая роль в этой деятельности принадлежала францисканскому ордену, известному не только искусством проповеди, но и осуществлением экономических интересов папства в Северном Причерноморье.

Находясь на границе с "варварским миром", являясь опорным пунктом миссионеров, хранителем мощей и других святынь христианства, Крым был центром паломничества, крещения "иноверных", духовного и политического влияния христианских стран на соседние народы.

OSTCHRISTLICHE KIRCHE IN KAFFA 5.-15. JH.

Die Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche in Kaffa ist mehrmals zum Forschungsobjekt von solchen grossen Byzantinern, wie M.Nystazopoulou, E.Zachariadou, M.Balard u.a., geworden. Die Historie der armenischen Kirche in Kaffa wurde von M.Cazacu und K.Kevonian betrachtet¹. Aber die ecclesiologisch-historische Problematik wurde von ihnen grösstenteils für die Schlussperiode der 1437.-1475. Jh. und in der Regel ohne Rücksicht auf die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen ostchristlichen Konfessionen beleuchtet. Dazu kommt, dass ausser acht die Möglichkeiten der archäologischen und historisch-baukünstlerischen Forschungen gelassen wurden, während auf dem Territorium Kaffas etwa 10 Kultkomplexen der 5.-15. Jh. erhalten bleiben.

Der Anfang der christlichen Gemeinde in Kaffa verhält sich zur frühbyzantinischen Zeit. Die ersten Basiliken, deren Reste sich bis auf den heutigen Tag bewahrten, sind auf die Chora Feodosias in der 5.-6. Jh. entstanden. Dem 9. Jh. werden die griechischsprachigen Epitaphien mit den griechischen und türkischen Namen datiert. Zur vorgenesischen Zeit muss man 2 griechische und 3 armenische Kirchen, die sich auf die Zitadellefläche Kaffas stattgefunden sind, und auch die griechische, armenische und russische Tempels in Burgen, die in Statuten 1316 erwähnt werden, zurechnen.

In den 13.-15. Jh. sind sich in Kaffa Chalkedoniten ausgezeichnet, die die verschiedensten Ethnien unter der Dominierung von Griechen, von den griechischen Sitten und Ritualen vereinigten. Durch alle schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen werden 10 griechische Kirchen bezeugt. Den Chalkedoniten gehörten auch 6 griechisch-armenische allgemeine Tempels, wie z.B. S.Maria, S.Ioachim und Anna, S.Iohannes der Theologe, S.Iohannes der Baptist, S.Ilie und S.Nikolaus der "Niederer". Das war eine der grössten Gemeinden in der Stadt, in der die Anzahl der Nachfolger 2 Tausend überstieg. Entgegen der existierenden Meinung über die Entstehung der Mitropolitensitze in Kaffa um 1437., glaube ich, dass sie ihren Beginn seit dem 14. Jh. nahm. Der Metropolit trug den Titel "von Sugdaia", aber er hatte die Residenz in Kaffa. Dadurch lässt sich sowohl die Beteiligung der sugdaischen Hierarchen an den Grundverträgen in Kaffa, als auch

die Fälle ihres Todes in dieser Stadt erklären. Ausserdem werden die "griechischen Bischöfe" Kaffas in deutschen Quellen seit dem Ende des 14. Jhs. erwähnt.

Neben der chalkedonischen (orthodoxen) Kirchenorganisation war in Kaffa die nestorianische, die die verschiedenen Stämme mit dem Übergewicht der Syrer und wahrscheinlich der griechischen Sprache vereinigte. Über die syrische Konfession in Kaffa schrieb noch Io- hannes Schiltberger.

Ferner, die monophysitische Gemeinde war ziemlich beträchtlich und sie bestand aus den Kaukasiern und Armeniern. Sie benutzte, wie man glauben kann, die griechische Sakralsprache. Laut Urkunden be- sass sie 12 Tempels und Klöster. Es muss hier zugegeben werden, dass die historiographischen Nachrichten über 45 armenische Kirchen my- thisch ist. Als Zentrum der kaffischen Monophysiten war die S.Geor- gius der Erleuchter Kathedrale, die die "Häresien vertrieb". An der Spitze stand seit den 20. Jahren des 14. Jhs. der Bischof und spä- ter Erzbischof.

Schliesslich, die Koexistenz mit den Lateiner führte zur Bil- dung der Uniatenkirchengruppierung lange vor der Florentiner Union. Ihr Zentrum war der Dom von Erzengel Michael und Gabriel in der charakteristischen Form des lateinischen Kreuzes. Die Uniaten be- sasssen die S.Petrus und Paulus, S.Nikolaus der "Oberer", S.Jakobus Kirchen und die S.Antonius Kapelle. Dort waren die hervorragenden griechischen und armenischen Theologen, wie Thadeus, Paulus (der Schüler von Demetrios Kydones) und Andreas Chrysobergos, tätig.

Auf diese Weise, die Orthodoxie und die oppositionellen Glau- bensformen waren als unabdingbares Attribut der geistlichen und so- zialen Gestalt Kaffas.

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ Νυσταξοπουλος Μ.Γ. *Ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουχδαία*. - Αθήναι, 1965; Ζαχαριαδου Ε. *Για τὴν μετροπολὶ τοῦ Καφᾶ τὸν 14. Αἰῶνα* // *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου*. - Αθήναι, 1968. - Τ. 29. - Σ. 280-293; Cazacu M., Kevonian K. *La chute de Caffa en 1475 à la lumière de nouveaux documents* // *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*. - P., 1976. - An. XVII. - N4. - P. 495-538; Schreiner P. *Bizantini e genovesi a Caffa: (Osservazioni a proposito di un documento latino in un manoscritto greco)* // *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich*. - Wien, 1984. - N2. - S. 97-100; Balard M. *Les orientaux à Caffa au XV-e siècle* // *Byzantinische Forschungen*. - Amsterdam, 1987. - Bd. XI. - P. 223-238; Emanov A. *Latijnjane i nelatinjane w Kafe (XIII-XV w.)* // *Iz istorij Visantii i visantinovedenija*. - SPb., 1991. - S. 107-116; Karpov S.P. *Čto i kak pradžnawali w Kaffe w XV w.?* // *Srednije weka*. - M., 1993. - Wyp. 56. - S. 226-232.

Victor Spinei

LE RÔLE DE BYZANCE DANS LA GENÈSE ET L'ÉVOLUTION DE CETATEA
ALBĂ (ASPROKASTRON, BELGOROD)

1226

Cetatea Albă - connue au Moyen Âge sous des appellations différentes (Asprokastron, Akkerman, Belgorod, Maurokastron, Moncastro, Weissenburg etc.) - a été le plus ancien établissement urbain paru en Moldavie médiévale, un millénaire environ après la destruction des quelques villes romaines de cette zone-là par les invasions barbares. Sa création a été facilitée à la suite des dispositions du traité de Nymphée de 1261, par lequel l'empereur Michel VIII Paléologue octroyait aux Génois d'importants privilèges dans le bassin de la mer Noire. Quant à la stimulation de la vie économique en ville aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles, outre les Génois, un apport important est échu aux Byzantins aussi. Significatives en ce sens sont en égale mesure les découvertes de céramique et d'objets de culte provenant de l'Empire byzantin, qui relèvent son rôle dans le commerce et la vie confessionnelle de Cetatea Albă.

COMMENTARIES IN THE BYZANTINE LITERATURE AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ARMENIAN COMMENTARIES. (THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF [ARISTOTLE'S] "VIRTUES AND VICES")

Christianity in Byzantium for the creation of its own ideology badly needed to be based on the achievements of the antique and hellenistic sciences. Only having a strong background Christians could defend their theological and dogmatic positions. The same situation was in the early-Armenian literature, which borrowed many forms of the early-Byzantine historiography descended from the antique traditions. One of those forms was the commentaries on the works of antique authors, such as Aristotle, Plato, Zeno and others. Later the texts of the early christian authors themselves became objects of commentary; so, starting from the fifth century and especially in the Middle Ages one could find commentaries on commentators. For example a standard medieval textbook of logic, Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle, which itself is a commentary, in the fifth century was commented on by David Invictus in Greek- "Δάσινδ ξεγήγησις..." (it is interesting to note the usage of word ξεγήγησις) and then was translated into the Armenian.

In Byzantology as well as in Armenology there are no special investigations about the types of commentaries (especially on the "external" sciences). Although in Armenian codices one could find different types of commentaries, which seem to go back to the Byzantine context. E.g.: մեկնութիւն - "interpretation" (the Greek ὑπόμνημα, later ἐρμηνεία, ἐξήγησις), լուծութիւն - "resolution" (the Greek λύσεις), նախերգան - "prelude, introduction" (may be the Greek εἰσαγωγή, προοίμιον), պատճառք - "causes, reasons" (the Greek αἰτια), առած - "lemma" (the Greek λήμμα), նկատումն - "notice", վերլուծութիւն - "analysis, resolution" (the Greek ἀνάλυσις), հարց և պատասխան - "question and the answer" (the Greek ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις, ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις - cf. the erothemathic collections which were widespread both in Byzantium and Armenia and which could be considered as a sort of transformation of the antique dialogues). Having an educational function these types of commentaries had rather an oral than a written form; so, many of them were not fixed and were not preserved.

The Armenian Version of Pseudo-Aristotle's opus "Virtues and Vices" which, being attributed to David Invictus, is a literal translation belonging to the so-called Hellenizing School; so, it is valuable for preparing the critical edition of its original.

There are about 125 MSS of the "Virtues and Vices" all over the world and 80 of them are kept in the Matenadaran. About the same number are the commentaries on it, most of which belong to the fifteenth or seventeenth centuries. From the above mentioned types there exist "resolutions", "preludes", "notices" to the Armenian Version of "Virtues and Vices". Often an exact passage from Philo Alexandrinus' "De Providentia" is attached to the translation itself, as well as to the commentaries.

**Купольные храмы Западной Алании:
архитектурная типология и сравнительная хронология.**

В глубина живописных ущелий Северо-Западного Кавказа, под сенью Главного Кавказского хребта хорошо сохранились пять купольных храмов средневекового архитектурного типа. Их появление в верховьях р.Кубани связывают с христианизацией алан и учреждением Аланской Епархии Константинопольского подчинения. Датируемые X–XI вв., храмы Западной Алании в целом близки синхронным памятникам Абхазии, Болгарии, северного побережья Малой Азии, и обнаруживают сходство с некоторыми постройками Константинополя. Тем не менее, индивидуальное своеобразие аланских церквей неоднократно отмечалось исследователями и даже вызывало попытки говорить о сложении в алано-абхазском регионе Западного Кавказа самостоятельной архитектурной школы.

Письменные свидетельства о строительстве в Алании христианских храмов отсутствуют. В результате системного анализа всех доступных нам исторических и архитектурно-археологических данных, примерная динамика и хронологическая последовательность строительства храмов Алании представилась нам в следующем виде:

1. До X в.: Не исключается возможность сооружения монахами — миссионерами небольших и простых по форме храмов.

2. 901–965 гг.: Создание православной аланской столицы в долине р.Большой Зеленчук (город "Асие" или совр. посёлок Нижний Архыз). — Строительство Среднего Зеленчукского купольного храма по типу "свободного креста" с разновеликими "ветвями креста" и с одной полукруглой (изнутри подковообразной) апсидой.

3. Конец X в.: строительство монастыря в Тебердинском ущелье и сооружение Северного купольного храма по типу "свободного креста" с разновеликими ветвями. Одновременное украшение интерьера фресковыми росписями.

4. Рубеж X–XI вв. (не позднее 1013 г.): Строительство Северного Зеленчукского храма (кафедрального храма митрополита Алании) — девятидольного четырёхстолпного крестоподкупольного здания, с выступающим трёхапсидным алтарём и тремя притворами перед входами.

Тогда же был перестроен Средний Зеленчукский храм: добавлены две малые боковые апсиды; западный неф удлинен дополнительной пристройкой.

5. Срединя XI в. (до 1070-х гг. — расцвет аланской государственности и наивысшая фаза империалистических успехов правителей Алании): строительство четырёхстолпного купольного храма типа "вписанного креста" в укрепленной цитадели на горе Шоана (т.н. Шоанинский храм на р.Кубани).

Тогда же: перестройка Северного Зеленчукского (кафедрального) храма: пристройка нартекса с западным притвором к первоначальному кафаликону; замена кровельной черепицы на покрытие каменной лещадью; украшение Северного и Среднего Зеленчукских храмов фресковыми росписями.

6. XII век: с перемещением в 1084–1105 гг. центра Аланской митрополии из Нижнего Архыза в Сотериуполь (в Малой Азии) монументальное культовое строительство в Западной Алании прекращается. Свидетельством непрофессионализма местных зодчих является последний из купольных храмов Алании — Южный Зеленчукский храм (четырёхстолпная домовая церковь на территории городской усадьбы).

Выводы: Системный анализ архитектурных и исторических данных показал, что собственная школа монументального культового зодчества в Западной Алании не сложилась. При строительстве каждого из пяти аланских храмов, и при их перестройках в дальнейшем, каждый раз прибегали к услугам разных строительных артелей: из столицы или из периферийных областей Малой Азии, а также из сопредельных с Аланией регионов Кавказа. В силу этих обстоятельств, своеобразие локальной группы аланских храмов заключается, прежде всего, во множественности генетических истоков их архитектуры.

THE CARVED DECORATION OF THE GEORGIAN CHURCHES IN IŠKHANI AND OŠKI

The sites of Iškhanī and Oški belong to the basin of Čorokh, which comprised the ancient Georgian province of Tao-Klardžeti now in Oriental Turkey. The great church of Iškhanī and that of Oški, both of large dimensions, can be associated with the cruciform type with a dome. The cathedral of Iškhanī was erected in the place of a tetraconch with ambulatory from the seventh century, which was damaged on the arrival of the Arabs. Its reconstruction according to a new plan was carried out during the 9th and 10th cc but its adornment was finished in 1032. However, the east conch partly preserved and its arcade were incorporated in the sanctuary. The capitals of the arcade are of great importance for the study of the ancient models revived in the carved decoration in the 10-11th cc. The small church of Iškhanī standing nearby was decorated in 1006. The church of Oški, which features a triconch to the east, was very likely finished in 961.

Seen from a bird's eye view, the domes of Iškhanī and Oški rise on the intersection of the four-cross arms, which react on the facades with pediments. The facades display triple or quintuple blind arcades, supported by shafts in recess, capped with repetitive capitals. The elongated facades are also enlivened with blind arcades, the southern one of Oški, with an open gallery. The arches which are inseparable from both polyedrical drum, rest on twin colonnettes crowned with capitals of great variety. The decoration is focused there, on the cornices and around the openings. Defined foliated and geometric motifs prevail in each church.

In Oški some foliated constituents of the capitals depict forms which call to mind the lovely heads of birds as well as a rabbit or a scarfed woman's head; a composition of luscious leaves reminds one of birds with elongated throats. This treatment of the plant motifs flourishing then in Islamic art, influenced the Georgian masons. The ornamented colonnettes of the porch and the piers with cut corners, to which they belong, reveal Abbasid fashion in the world architecture. Its brilliant example is the octagonal Oški pier and the masks discernible within its acanthus adornment, as well as the grid of interlaced circles on the shaft of the column standing nearby. The great niches hollowed in the southern supports inside the Iškhanī and Oški churches confirm the inspiration of Islamic architectural details.

The carved decoration of Iškhanī and Oški reveals the revivals of antique elements, inherited from the East Byzantine Provinces and Sassanian ones, which had been adopted by local tradition and fused with Georgian artistic patrimony in the early Christian epoch. Thus the 'Renaissance' known in Byzantium, brought results in Georgia in the 10-11th cc. by making use of the local repertory and Sassanian motifs, penetrative again through Abbasid culture. The foliated and geometric motifs are often subject to interlaced designs, the prototypes of which may be seen in the Roman-Hellenistic ensembles. However, the interlaced patterns were brought to the fore by the Abbasid architecture from the 9th c. on. Introduced in Georgian carved decoration, they got a new artistic treatment.

The Abbasid fashion was a phenomenon that could be observed all over the Mediterranean area. The Georgians had all the reason to be inspired of it. The country turned into an Arab emirate since the middle of the 7th c. The rulers of Tao-Klardžeti, whose kingdom formed part of the emirate, were at the same time vassals of the Byzantine emperor and were playing an important role in the political scene. In the willingness to demonstrate richness and power the princes Bagrationi erected the great monastic complex as Iškhanī and Oški.

Alvida Mirzoyan
Byzantine Art Elements in Illustrations to "Narek"
(Yerevan, Matenadaran 1568, AD 1173)

1234

In 1173 by request of Nerses Lambronatsy Gregory copied and illustrated "The Elegies" of Gregory of Narek, the poet who lived in X century. In Armenia this book is often called by the name of the author - "Narek". Elegant manuscript (15.4 * 11.7) is written on parchment mixed with minuscule uncials.

"Narek" is the first illustrated secular manuscript in Armenia. But the illustrator didn't create new art forms, he used what had been elaborated by religious art, finding there themes and topics relevant to his book. Every miniature in "Narek" corresponds to a certain illumination in the Gospels. The first leaves of the book (c. 5b -6a), in which there are written aims and goals of "Narek", are similar to the first concordance tables of the Gospels with the epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus. The number of the portraits (c.7b, 55b, 120b, 178b) of the poet is equal to the number of the Gospels writers, and the title pages of the chapters (c.8b, 56a, 179a) are similar to the first pages of the Gospels. The illustrator made every portrait on a base of a certain easily recognized prototype, comparable with a certain side of the poet's personality, showing him in an appropriate hypostasis. In my report I will speak on the portrait named in the manuscript "St. Gregory Hermit". Iconographic peculiarity of the portrait - frontally depicted upright figure, the high brow with deep wrinkles, a massive book decorated with gems in the left hand, the style of the clothes, vertical inscriptions with black letters on the both sides of the figure, reminds of the iconography of mosaic portraits of John the Chrysanthemum, in particular, his mosaic portrait from the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (the IX - X cc.) Besides its iconographic similarity to the mosaic in the portrait one can see rather unusual for manuscript illustration formal methods. Rounded wrinkles in the top of Narek's forehead, wrinkles, mirroring the round lines of the eyebrows, are made not by technique characteristic of painting, but clearly follow the rhythmical order of mosaic square plates. This is also partly seen in the depiction of the clothes. In some parts of the portrait the painter intentionally strengthens the resemblance with mosaic technique. For example, it can be seen in the nimbus. In Armenian miniatures one never can see a similar nimbus which is done not with solid paint or gold, but with a geometrical pattern, that imitates the laying of mosaic plates.

By its style, color, and layout of the inscriptions, the portrait "St. Gregory Hermit" stands aside from the three other portraits in the manuscript. The leaf of parchment with this portrait is thicker than the other leaves of the manuscript. All fascicles of the book consist of eight leaves, but the fascicle with "St. Gregory Hermit" has ten leaves.

L.Azaryan and Sirapie Der Nersessian suggest that this portrait was made by another painter, when the book was completed, and sown into it later.

The question why and when the fourth portrait was made can be explained with the following circumstances. In 1196 from Cilicia a representative delegation was sent to Constantinople to consider possibilities and ways of rapprochement between Armenian monophysitical and Greek diophysitical churches. The delegation was headed by bishop Nerses Lambronatsy, who ordered to make the manuscript. As we suppose, being impressed by elaborate mosaics of the Hagia Sophia Lambronatsy developed an idea to paint one more portrait of the favorite poet, and by iconography of John the Chrysanthemum to draw a parallel between these two outstanding medieval authors thus making the similarity of their talents evident. John the Chrysanthemum had been translated into Armenian since the V century. Lambronatsy himself compiled 34 sermons of the Chrysanthemum in a book and commented them.

It is possible to suppose that in the delegation there was an artist who fulfilled the wish of the bishop. Being a talented artist he didn't simply copy the mosaic original, but creatively transferred it onto the manuscript leaf, shaping the portrait in accordance with artistic standards of manuscript illumination of his time.

Georgian Art in Armenian Ani 1215-20

This paper examines the impact of Georgian rule in the Armenian city of Ani in the first decades of the thirteenth century. It achieves this through an examination of the monuments erected by the brothers Zakaria and Ivane Mxargrdzeli, the former of whom ruled in Ani until his death in 1227. The title of the paper is deliberately provocative, since it aims to examine the validity of the distinctions between 'Georgian' and 'Armenian' in the setting of Ani in this period. It also re-examines the vexed question of the identity of 'Chalcedonian Armenians'. The decision of the Mxargrdzeli brothers each to support a different faith (Zakare was monophysite, but Ivane was converted to Georgian orthodoxy by the Georgian patriarch) clearly formed part of a complex policy of appeasing each group within the new semi-autonomous principality that was set up by queen Tamar in the areas of northern Armenia brought under her control. The work is carried out principally from the point of view of Georgian evidence about the city.

The first monument to be examined is the so-called 'Georgian church' in Ani, now largely destroyed. Two principal features survive, the few remaining fragments of sculpture from the interior of the north wall of the church, and the long Georgian inscription excavated and reconstructed by Nikolai Marr in 1910. This was set up at the instigation of Epiphane, Patriarch of Georgia in 1218 and so gives some insight into Georgian perceptions of their position within the city at this time. In particular, it reveals the extent of conflict between the communities at this time, and their concerns about the hierarchy of authority in the city. It helps to highlight the problems of interpretation in this period, especially the distinction between 'Georgian' and 'Armenian' as ethnic, confessional or linguistic categories.

The second monument is the church of St Gregory the Illuminator, built by the merchant Tigran Honents in 1215. The confessional affiliation of this monument has been much discussed and remains controversial. This paper will examine the programme of wall paintings in the church in relation to the provisions of the church council called by Zakare Mxargrdzeli at Sis in 1204 (as reported by the Armenian chronicler Kirakos Gandzakec'i). This seems to have been designed to bring the church at Ani closer into line with Georgian church practices. Does the church represent a move towards this union of the churches within the city, or a more complex relationship between the two communities?

The aim of the paper is to demonstrate the difficulties of talking about the Chalcedonian Armenians as a 'separate self-aware ethno-confessional group' within society. Rather it will propose that no clear lines can be drawn between any groups within Ani society at this time (Chalcedonian Armenians least of all). A reexamination of these monuments will lead to a better understanding of the role played by monumental art and epigraphy in this period in forming perceptions of cultural identity.

Coptic art is a complicated cultural and artistic phenomenon developed under the influence of several factors. First of all, these are the local Egyptian artistic tradition numbering thousands of years, artistic traditions of Greece and Rome, the influence of Syria and Iran and, of course, of the Byzantine Empire - the metropolis.

At the early stages of investigation of Coptic art, when it was considered as an offshoot of the art of the Byzantine Empire, the Byzantine element in Coptic art was regarded as predominating. Gradually, when the original and unique features of Coptic art became more evident, the problem of Byzantine influence was relegated to the background. In my opinion, the attitude of the majority of the Coptic population to the Romans as the enslavers of their country and adversaries in the field of religion (diphysites), limited the possibility of using purely Byzantine motifs in Coptic art. Several objects of art revealing Byzantine motifs (textiles, wall-paintings, stone sculpture, carved bone, etc.) are considered in this paper. The spread of "Byzantinizing" motifs is traceable only in the "melkite" Alexandria, in the Middle and especially in the Upper Egypt - the citadel of monophysite monasteries - these are practically absent. There the dogmatic heresy of the Romans was totally rejected along with their artistic principles and forms.

NOTE ON A RECENTLY CLEANED CRUSADER STORIED CRUCIFIXION TRIPTYCH IN THE COPTIC MUSEUM, CAIRO

by Zuzana Skalova in collaboration with Sobhi Shenuda

Egg yolk tempera on gesso, canvas, and wood

Central panel: 51,5 x 69,2 x 1,7 (with the frame 57 x 78 x 4)

left wing: 26,5 x 70,5 x 2

right wing: 26,6 x 68,2 x 2

Coptic Museum: central panel 3349; the wings 10009

Provenance: Bawit?

Inscriptions: Greek: IX XC

Circa 1300

The central Crucifixion scene of this huge triptych becomes revealed only when the wings are open. When closed, the wings fit over the central panel into its nailed frame, like shutters. Painted to five different scales, the visual narrative from the earthly life of Christ is all connected closely with Jerusalem, illustrating the events of the Holy Week.

Christ is shown suspended from the cross with closed eyes and thorn-crown, mourned by angels and flanked by two crucified thieves. The Virgin and three Holy Women, (all of whom wear maphorions with three golden stars), stand on the left, St. John and the centurion on the right, against the city walls of Jerusalem in the background. On the wings are six lesser scenes. The narrative starts on the right wing with The Entry into Jerusalem, The Washing of the Feet and The Last Supper. The story continues with seven even tinier scenes in one continuous horizontal predella-like composition with The Message from Pilate's Wife, The Betrayal (Judas being distinguished by a dark nimbus), Peter's attack on Malchus, The Mocking of Christ, Soldiers Casting lots under Golgotha for Christ's Garment, The Way of the Cross, and Simon of Cyrene Carrying the Cross (in the form of the True Cross with double balk, venerated in Jerusalem and associated with the Holy Sepulchre). On the left wing the cycle ends with The Deposition from the Cross, The Holy Women at the Tomb and the Anastasis.

These three distinct parts of the triptych, the Crucifixion, the Church Feasts and the Passion scenes differ not only in size but also in their rendering, being a mixture of Byzantine, Western and even Armenian iconographic and stylistic elements. They seem to be based on diverse sources, most probably on manuscript illuminations as it is in the smallest scenes, that the painter best demonstrates his skills. This predella, a band of diminutive vivid scenes at the base of the central panel, is a common feature of comparable triptychs, which were popular in Italy at the end of the 13th century.

The origin of such eclectic work fits into the international milieu of the Crusader Holy Land no later than the circa 1300. The prominence given to the True Cross carried by Simon of Cyrene suggests Jerusalem provenance. In the Coptic church the triptych would be used during the Holy Friday ceremonial liturgy.

The inferior technique and materials also point to a provincial, Middle Eastern origin. The bright colouring, typical of medieval art is distorted by azurite-blue parts overpainted with indigo. The heavily cracked painting has been repeatedly restored in the past. The triptych was assembled and re-restored in 1991-95 by the authors and their trainees in the frame of the Egypt-Netherlands Conservation of Coptic Art Project, based in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

Bibl: P. van Moorsel, M. Immerzeel, L. Langen and A. Serafeem; Catalogue General du Musée Copte, The Icons (Cairo, 1995) No 115, 103-105, plate 30 shows the triptych before the restoration.

L'IMPORTANCE DU MATÉRIEL ÉTHIOPIEN POUR LES ÉTUDES SUR L'ART BYZANTIN: LE CAS DE L'ÉGLISE GÄNNÄTÄ MARYAM (XIII^e SIÈCLE) ET SON ENSEMBLE DE PEINTURES MURALES

L'Éthiopie, une province lointaine du monde byzantin est presque ignorée dans les études comparatives effectuées par les historiens d'art. C'est pourquoi nous voudrions dans cette communication attirer l'attention des chercheurs sur un monument éthiopien particulièrement intéressant à cet égard - l'église rupestre au décor peint appelée Gännättä Maryam (Paradis de Marie), près de Lalibela. Cette basilique à trois nefs a été taillée dans le rocher vers la fin du XIII^e siècle, comme nous en informe la scène et l'inscription dédicatoires mentionnant le roi Yekuno Amlak (1270-85). Les peintures qui semblent exécutées en même temps que l'église couvrent toutes les parois, les piliers et la voûte dans la nef centrale. Elles sont partiellement abîmées et difficiles à identifier mais révèlent quand même un répertoire de scènes très original et fort intéressant du point de vue de l'iconographie.

On distingue dans le programme en question quatre groupes thématiques principaux: 1. les scènes et les personnages de l'Ancien Testament; 2. un cycle christologique (de l'Annonciation jusqu'à la Pentecôte); 3. une suite de saints comprenant des portraits aussi bien que des scènes narratives; 4. les anges et les archanges.

Dans le premier groupe mérite d'être citée une scène rarissime qui n'a pas de base textuelle biblique directe - le patriarche Jacob déploré par sa fille Dina, ainsi que le Sacrifice d'Abraham en présence de Sara, une composition qui semble répondre à une *soghita* syriaque.

Dans le second groupe on trouve particulièrement intéressantes la Parabole des Vierges Sages et Folles représentée d'une façon très abrégée et la Présentation au Temple où la prophétesse Anne est remplacée par la femme sage Salomé et un ange.

Dans la série hagiographique la place prépondérante est réservée aux saints égyptiens où on distingue quelques Pères du désert. L'ensemble est complété par les saints orientaux et les "moines syriens" qui d'après la tradition éthiopienne évangélisaient le pays au VI^e siècle. Notre attention se dirige en premier lieu vers les personnages moins connus tels qu'Abba Bame, l'anachorète qui avait enseveli le corps de sainte Hilaria, ou Anba Mīrāna, une femme qui cachait son sexe pour vivre dans une communauté de moines et qui garda son secret jusqu'à sa mort, bien qu'elle fût accusée de paternité.

Nous observons également la présence de certains épisodes inhabituels dans les relations narratives de la vie de quelques saints. Ainsi, une scène représente la première rencontre entre Marie l'Égyptienne et saint Zosimos, le moment où la vieille femme, surprise par le prêtre au milieu du désert où elle avait vécu quarante sept ans dans la solitude, essaie de s'enfuir en couvrant son corps nu de ses cheveux longs. Une autre scène montre saint Georges qui ayant libéré de prison le diacre Georges reconduit le jeune homme chez sa mère. Digne de remarque est aussi la représentation de Mercure. Le saint cavalier est montré conformément à son iconographie habituelle, c'est-à-dire en train de tuer Julien l'Apostate (un des ses miracles *post mortem*), mais en même temps la scène est enrichie par la figure d'un cynocéphale dont l'histoire fait partie d'une des versions de la légende du saint. Remarquons enfin que l'histoire de saint Mamas, un jeune berger cappadocien martyrisé pendant le règne de Dioclétien, prend beaucoup de place dans l'église - elle est racontée dans trois scènes séparées.

Signalons finalement que dans Gännättä Maryam les figures des anges et des saints cavaliers sont situées à proximité du sanctuarium et des entrées. Il faut supposer qu'ils sont considérés comme gardiens de l'église contre les forces du mal, ils sont donc porteurs d'une signification apotropaïque.

Byzantium in New Iranian Classic Literature and Folklore

1. The Rūm, besides its direct political-geographical meaning in Iranian and Muslim historiography as the designation of once existed political and geographical entity - Byzantium and its people, during the later periods of the history of Iranian Classic literature has acquired a series of legendary connotations reflected also in folklore and oral traditions of the Iranian peoples.

2. First of all it is a symbol of the West, Western culture and civilization and, as such, is used by classic Persian authors as an antonymous term for the Orient, Oriental culture and peoples. This conception gave birth to a series of semantic oppositions (pairs) amply represented in classic New Persian Poetry: Rūm/Khotan, Rūm/Khatāy (China), Rūm/Habash and Rūm/Zang (Ethiopia). Cf.: *Dar safar gar Rūm bīnī yā Xotan, / Az del key revad hobb-e vatan.* - Moulavi. Firdausi has preserved even a direct opposition of Rūm/Orient (xāvar): *Yakī Rūm o xāvar, yakī Tork o Chīn, / Sevom dašt-e gordān-e Irān-zamīn.*

3. Rūm is a term denoting the notion of *white colour*, hence we have: a) *sepāh-e Rūm* (lit. "army of Rūm") as an epithet for "day, daylight, daytime": *Ô Šāhanšāh-e šobh āmad bar aurang, / Sepāh-e Rūm zad bar laškar-e Zang.* - Nizami; *laškar-e Zang* (lit. "Ethiopian army") is the epithet for "night, darkness"; b) *rūmī/zangī* - opposite pair for white/negro peoples: *Goftam ke yolām-e hardam, gofti na, / Yā zangī-ye zang bāš, yā rūmī-ye rūm.* - Easāf.

4. Rūm is also the abode of the infidels (hence *rūmī* is a synonym of *kāfer*) in the New Persian folklore but at the same time also a country, having beautiful women, mostly willing to convert to Islam when involved in the stories of fairy tales (cf. also the story of Shaykh San'ān by Farid ad-dīn 'Attār).

5. The term Rūm (Rūm-ēlī) was applied to the territories once included into the Eastern parts of Eastern Roman Empire - Anatolia and Asia Minor. Hence Rūm, Rōm (*walatā rōmē*, lit. "the country of roms") is a synonym for *Turkey* among the Kurds and nomadic and seminomadic Iranian peoples of the Eastern Anatolia.

For the Kurds *rōm-s* are a symbol of treachery, meanness and bears a good amount of inferior qualities: *rōma xayīna, rōma bēk' bāra* (lit. "the roms are treacherous (people)") says the Kurdish proverb; *čatā rōmē* (lit. "calamity of the roms") is a mortal danger always threatening a Kurd in his lifetime.

The Armenian folk tradition is also considering *hořom* in the latter sense, but applying it to the catholics!

6. Some of the Iranian nomadic tribes denote the Gypsies by the term *rōm* (*rūm*), but this is due to the secondary development from the Indian *ḍom* (*ḍum*) and has nothing to do with Rūm (Byzantium).

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DIE BYZANTINISCHEN BLEISIEGEL AUS UNGARN

Nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Lateiner 1204 nimmt der byzantinische Einfluß auf die angrenzenden Kulturkreise ab. Die bedeutenden byzantinisch-ungarischen Beziehungen wurden von vielen Historikern nicht zur Kenntnis genommen, und das nicht immer unabsichtlich.

Mit Recht betonte Guyla Moravcsik, Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn. *Sitz.ber. dt. Akad. Wiss. Berlin* 4 (1955) 28.: "... die Mehrzahl unserer früheren Forscher bemühte sich, den byzantinischen Einfluß zu bagatellisieren oder ganz mit Schweigen zu übergehen... Unsere Kunsthistoriker wollten die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Einflusses dadurch abschwächen, daß sie sagten, er habe nur durch die Vermittlung von Italien Ungarn berührt."

Als Beitrag zu den byzantinisch-ungarischen Beziehungen soll diese Veröffentlichung bisher unbekannter byzantinischer Bleisiegel in Ungarn gelten, die die Ergebnisse einer Forschung in etlichen staatlichen Archiven und Museen, besonders in Budapest, darstellt.

Die zu präsentierende Sammlung beinhaltet einerseits Kaiser-, Patriarchen- und Offizierssiegel vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, andererseits sind auch metrische und ikonographische Siegel vertreten.

Shannon Holcomb Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Royal Icons?: Byzantine Parallels for
Charles IV of Bohemia's Dynastic Imagery

1252

Bohemia is a borderland between East and West. Although originally proselytized by Byzantium, it later chose the Roman Christian rite. In the fourteenth century Emperor Charles IV, whose political program was nation-building, sought to reconcile disparate cultural currents in Bohemia. This policy is evident, for example, in his support of ecclesiastical diversity; in addition to underwriting services in Czech, German, and Latin, Charles obtained papal authority to re-institute Old Church Slavonic language and liturgy. In the decoration of his palatine chapel, an artistic expression of his political aims, Charles drew on eclectic sources, integrating Byzantine with Western elements. This paper will identify and interpret aspects of the program of the chapel which shed light on the East-West concerns of late medieval Central Europe.

Gli affreschi con gli apostoli nella chiesa di S.Beignate a Perugia:
un esempio di pittura bizantineggiante in Italia centrale

-Cristina Pantanella, Roma-

La chiesa di S.Beignate (1), costruita dai cavalieri Templari a nord-est di Perugia, conserva affreschi nell'abside e nella navata. L'edificio fu edificato nel periodo *ante* 1256 - *ante* 1283 e rimase proprietà dei Templari sino alla soppressione dell'Ordine nel 1312 (2). Le figure dei dodici apostoli, in grandezza poco maggiore del naturale, sono dipinte lungo la navata, nella controfacciata e nell'abside, staccate dal fondo -che nel presbiterio sono affreschi di poco anteriori, nel resto della chiesa un finto parato murario (3)- tramite una incorniciatura che li assimila ad una pagina miniata, come notato da Hans Belting (1982), con riferimento ai Profeti del cod. Vat.gr.1153, datato da John Lowden tra il 1261-1280.

Gli apostoli di S.Beignate, sebbene di recente siano stati oggetto di nuovi studi, sollevano ancora numerosi interrogativi meritevoli di approfondimento. Innanzitutto perché tra le chiese di un Ordine solitamente parco nella decorazione pittorica essi costituiscono la seconda di due fasi decorative cronologicamente vicine all'interno di uno stesso edificio. Secondo, perché alcuni soggetti trovano analogie in chiese templari francesi, il che fa sospettare l'esistenza di una tematica comune. Citiamo qui tre esempi: i "simboli templari", le croci, i disegni geometrici e i finti concetti si ritrovano nelle chiese di Cressac sur Charente e Montsaunes (Haute Garonne); ancora a Cressac -nota sempre Scarpellini- vi sono scene di combattimento come a S.Beignate. Infine per quanto riguarda gli apostoli isolati, qui nell'atto di portare croci gemmate racchiuse entro dischi o cerchi, osserviamo che in tale posa ricorrono nella cappella di S.Caterina a Montbellet (Saône et Loire). Terzo, lo stile non "occidentale" degli apostoli di S.Beignate, che non sembra riferibile alle coeve espressioni pittoriche Perugine, e nel quale più di uno studioso ha ravvisato elementi bizantineggianti, partecipa ad un linguaggio che, a mio parere, riflette, seppur a distanza, alcune delle più recenti espressioni della pittura bizantina nel periodo del ritorno dei Paleologi nella Capitale, come ad esempio le monumentali e voluminose figure nella chiesa serba della SS.Trinità a Sopočani (per V.J.Djurić ca.1263-1268).

Ritengo che il tramite di tale intreccio: motivi "templari-francesi" e aspetti bizantini -un atteggiamento culturale già crociato?- andrebbe cercato soprattutto nell'Ordine, il cui ruolo di committente non è forse stato ancora adeguatamente studiato.

1. Il presente studio si svolge nell'ambito delle ricerche per un Corpus della Pittura Bizantina in Italia, coordinate dalla prof.ssa Mara Bonfioli.

2. Per le vicende storiche F.TOMMASI, *L'Ordine dei Templari a Perugia*, Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria, 78, pp.1-79.

3. Una descrizione della chiesa e degli affreschi, con illustrazioni a colori in P.SCARPELLINI, *La chiesa di S.Beignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina nel duecento*, in *Templari e Ospedalieri in Italia. La chiesa di S.Beignate a Perugia*, a cura di M.Roncetti, P.Scarpellini, F.Tommasi, Milano 1989, pp.93-153.

PATRIZIA ANGIOLINI MARTINELLI - Bologna-Italia

PATRIZIA ANGIOLINI MARTINELLI

1254

PITTURA BIZANTINA E PITTURA ROMANICA FRANCESE:
INDICI E PROBLEMI DI RELAZIONE.

I rapporti fra la pittura mediobizantina e quella romanica francese possono oggi essere reconsiderati entro una griglia comparata che metta a fuoco nei due ambiti cronologicamente contestuali:

- 1) momenti di possibile relazione oggettiva (vie dei pellegrini, codici miniati e *scriptoria*, oggetti portatili);
- 2) aspetti della tradizione e trasmissione semantica e lessicale dalla precedente età detta post-iconoclastica nel mondo orientale e carolingia ed ottoniana in quello occidentale;
- 3) senso generale del discorso formale (rapporti architettura- decorazione, immagine - parete di contenimento, modulazione cromatica e lineare dell'immagine).

Al di là di passate, generiche etichette di "bizantinismo" della *facies* pittorica romanica francese, indagini di questo tipo, proprio mettendo a fuoco le diverse specificità dei due ambiti, ne evidenziano con maggior incisività la simile "volontà artistica", contribuendo a definire un plausibile e più esteso concetto di Medioevo europeo.

Pedro CASTILLO MALDONADO
Universidad de Jaén

1311

"Les relations diplomatiques entre le royaume wisigothique et Byzance pendant la deuxième decade du VII^{me}. siècle: Caesarius et Sisebutus"

"Hispanic byzantine diplomatic relations in the second decade of the seventh century: Caesarius and Sisebutus"

After the consecution of the religious unity under Recaredo, the Wisigoths also tried to obtain territorial unity through the expulsion of the byzantines. In fact, during the second decade of the seventh century, the byzantines were nearly defeated, as its subsequent expulsion in the following decade clearly shows. It is when, for strategical reasons, the supreme byzantine leader, Caesarius, sent some messages to the king of the Wisigoths, Sisebutus, asking for peace and giving him back the Bishop Caecilius of Mentesa as proof of good-will. The agreement of the king can be restituted in epistles of the time. In addition to this, other contact took place: ecclesiastic discipline, interchange of presents, reciprocal praises. Nevertheless, unfortunately, none of them could present the negative end for the byzantines some years later. Despite considerable efforts, the negotiations became a failure.

Michel van Esbroeck

1312

LA POLITIQUE ARMÉNIENNE DE BYZANCE
DE JUSTINIEN II à LÉON III (691-717)

Les données documentaires sur la période agitée de Justinien le Rhinotmète à Léon III sont à puiser principalement chez Théophane le chronographe du côté grec, et chez l'historien arménien Ghevond du côté arménien. Chacune de ces sources doit être utilisée avec une grande prudence et dans contexte élargi. En tenant compte du contexte doctrinal religieux entre l'Arménie et Byzance, et des réactions du pouvoir, plus d'un événement prend une coloration nouvelle, qui permet de mieux entrevoir la chaîne des influences. Cela vaut principalement pour la première éviction de Justinien II, mais aussi pour l'iconoclasme initial de Léon III, auquel plus d'un historien contemporain ne porte guère d'attention avant 730, prise de position officielle de l'empereur contre les icônes. Il y a pourtant du côté arménien des influences plus directes dont les suites se révèlent déjà au siège de 717. En mettant ensemble un grand nombre de témoignages dispersés, et en les confrontant avec le conflit doctrinal traditionnel entre Byzance et l'Arménie, on est amené à écrire une histoire plus précise des armées byzantines, puis des armées arabes, qui mettent la main sur l'Arménie.

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MÄRCHEN UND GESCHICHTE IN EINER ARABISCHEN BOTSCHAFT AN KAISER THEOPHILOS.

1937 war in *Byzantion* ein Aufsatz von É. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL erschienen (S. 1-24) mit dem Titel "Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IX^e siècle", wo der französische Gelehrte anhand einer damals in Fez frisch gefundenen Hs. einer arab. Chronik, die alte Quellen zur Geschichte der spanischen Omayyaden des 9. Jhs. sammelte, neue und wichtige Informationen über die diplomatischen Kontakte zwischen Byzanz und Korduba in den Jahren 839-840 kommentierte. Lévi-Provençal edierte dort den arab. Text eines Briefes des Emiren 'Abdarrahman II. (822-852) an den byz. Kaiser Theophilos (829-842) samt einer franz. Übersetzung und faßte den Bericht des vermeintlichen arab. Gesandtes an Konstantinopel, Yahya b. al-Hakam, sog. al-Gazal, über seinen Aufenthalt in Byzanz, zusammen. Al-Gazal war ein berühmter Dichter seiner Zeit und mehrmals Botschafter der spanischen Omayyaden (cf. F. PONS BOIGUES, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos españoles*, Madrid 1898, ND Frankfurt 1993, Nr. 2). Die Anekdoten über seine Reisen und Erlebnisse sind zwar größtenteils fabulös und märchenhaft, reflektieren aber zum Teil historische Ereignisse. So wird z.B. in dieser arab. Chronik erzählt, daß eines Tages al-Gazal sehr durstig war und dem byz. Kaiser Theophilos um Wasser bat. Das Wasser wurde ihm in einem goldenen Becher gebracht. Nachdem al-Gazal es getrunken hatte, steckte er den Becher in seinen Mantel. Theophilos ließ ihn durch den Dolmetscher rügen, wobei al-Gazal erwiderte (ich folge der Übersetzung von Lévi-Provençal): "Nos princes, dont vous cherchez l'amitié... ont l'habitude, quand quelque ambassadeur de marque demande à boire en leur présence, de lui faire apporter un vase précieux qu'il peut conserver après y avoir bu. Si cette coutume de mes maîtres n'est point la vôtre, je suis prêt à restituer votre coupe". Theophilos fühlte sich natürlich pikiert und schenkte dem Araber den Becher. Lévi-Provençal haltete die Episode für wenig originell und meinte, es gebe sicher ähnliche Versionen in der Volksliteratur vieler Völker, wies aber auf keine einzige Parallele. Tatsächlich ist eine fast identische Geschichte in dem Alexanderroman des Ps.-Kallisthenes zu finden, konkret in der Version B, II.15 (aus dem 5. Jh. n. Chr.), wo Alexander der Große die Rolle des al-Gazal und Dareios die des Theophilos übernehmen. Die arab. Geschichte über al-Gazal könnte auf den Alexanderroman basieren, der in al-Andalus zu dieser Zeit sehr verbreitet war (cf. E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ, *Un texto árabe occidental de la leyenda de Alejandro*, Madrid 1929). Dennoch ist bei den alten Makedonen die Sitte bekannt, den Gästen des Königs die Becher des Gastmahles zu schenken, wie Athenaios IV (128c) deutlich bezeugt. Auch im byz. Kaiserhof schenkten die Kaiser den Palastbeamten aus besonderen Anlässen bestimmte Teile des Geschirrs, wie es z.B. in Pseudo-Kodinos cap. IV (p. 217 Verpaux) berichtet wird. So ist es zu erwägen, ob diese Geschichte des al-Gazal die Alexanderlegende nachahmt oder eher auf eine in Byzanz seit dem Altertum erhaltene Sitte zurückzuführen ist. Andere Anekdoten im Bericht des al-Gazal schwingen gleichfalls zwischen Literatur und Wirklichkeit und sind im Kontext der Rivalität zwischen Byzanz und Islam zu deuten.

Напряженные, порой драматичные отношения двух соседних балканских государств - Византии и Болгарии на рубеже IX-X вв. нашли отражение во многих средневековых источниках. Ведь речь идет о времени правления амбициозного болгарского государя - Симеона, возвысившего Болгарию в политическом и культурном отношении. Свою лепту в освещение тех далеких событий вносит и Летопись - переводное с греческого на славянский язык хронографическое сочинение. В историографии памятник именуется не только Летопись - по начальному слову заглавия - но и Сербский Амартол - по языку его сохранившихся списков.

В основе текста Летописи два главных сочинения - Хроника Георгия Амартола, в которой история излагается от "сотворения мира" и до 843 года и хроника Симеона Логофета, где событийная канва продолжена до 948 г. Летопись - типичное сочинение жанра византийской хронографии, в которой история многочисленных стран и народов описывается в связи с историей мировых империй. История средневековой Болгарии в данном случае не исключение: она представлена чередой сюжетов, главным содержанием которых является история болгаро-византийских отношений, чаще враждебных, реже - мирных.

Первоначально скудная информация Летописи о болгарях становится все более насыщенной и подробной, коль скоро речь заходит о периоде правления болгарского князя Симеона (893-927). Источник сообщает множество деталей бурной истории военных столкновений двух держав и попыток решить дело миром. Летопись воссоздает образ болгарского князя, вынашивающего впечатляющую имперскую идею. Памятник позволяет обнаружить идейно-политические намерения самого составителя Летописи.

Сведения Летописи о болгаро-византийских отношениях конца IX-нач.X вв., точнее способ их подачи составителем памятника позволяют поддержать высказанный в историографии вывод о первоначальном переводе Летописи с греческого на болгарский язык.

Die russisch-byzantinische Begegnung im Lichte der (russisch-byzantinischen) Verträge des 10. Jahrhunderts.

Jana Malingoudi, Thessaloniki

Die diplomatische Analyse der russisch-byzantinischen Verträge vom Jahre 911 (J.Malingoudi, Die russisch-byzantinischen Verträge des 10.Jhds. aus diplomatischer Sicht, Thessaloniki 1994, s.55-78) hat die innere Struktur und den Aufbau dieser Urkunde, die in der Nestor-Chronik in altslavischer Übersetzung überliefert ist, offenbart.

Demnach steht mit Sicherheit fest, daß der mittlere Teil der Urkunde, jener mit den rechtlichen Bestimmungen, einen Auszug (Insert) byzantinischer Vertragsurkunde darstellt, die von den Griechen formuliert und an die Russen gerichtet war.

Auf Grund dieser Feststellung bietet die Referentin eine neue Interpretation zweier Rechtsartikel dieser Vereinbarung dar: jenes über Gewalttaten und des darauf folgenden über Schiffsbruch und gegenseitige Hilfe. Die neue Lesung (und Interpretation) sind Ergebnis einer Rückübersetzung des altslavischen Textes des Vertrages in das Mittelgriechische.

*Contribution à l'histoire des rapports entre Constantin Monomaque et
le roi hongrois André I^{er}*

Dans l'histoire du royaume hongrois qui fut surtout lié au monde liturgique et littéraire latin de l'Occident, le règne d'André I^{er} (1046-1060) est une époque où la relation à l'orthodoxie orientale et à Byzance eut un rôle important. En exil, André s'était converti au christianisme orthodoxe à Kiev et avait probablement obtenu son prénom du saint protecteur de la Russie. Dans les monastères qu'il avait fait construire ou qu'il protégeait, des moines basilienais ainsi que des ermites trouvaient abri.

Son hôte kieuvois, Jaroslav le Sage, apporta son aide simultanément et de même façon à l'empereur Constantin Monomaque et à André, reparti dans sa patrie afin d'obtenir le trône. Son fils Vsevolod prit pour femme une fille de l'empereur et plus tard en 1047, une troupe russe prit part dans la victoire sur Léon Tornikios, en révolte contre Monomaque. Il donna en mariage sa fille Anastasie à André et en 1046, il fournit une escorte à son gendre que les Hongrois, opposés au roi germanophile Pierre, avaient rappelé à eux pour la succession au trône. Une preuve probante de la relation d'alliance étroite qui s'était établie de la sorte entre le souverain byzantin et hongrois nous est apportée par la couronne ouvragée en or et préparée à l'époque de Monomaque qui partie de Constantinople parvint en Hongrie et qui selon toute vraisemblance servit de symbole lors du couronnement d'André (ou bien était un cadeau de la cour byzantine à l'adresse d'Anastasie).

Pour résumer rapidement, c'est bien cela que l'historiographie a établi, il y a déjà quelque temps, au sujet de la politique favorable à Byzance de façon directe ou indirecte d'André. En l'an 1992, grâce au travail de recherche en archives de l'école du Professeur A. Guillo, une nouvelle source est devenue accessible: selon un écrit grec datant de 1053/1054, une troupe hongroise non négligeable soutint Byzance en Calabre, cette même troupe devant son existence ou son recrutement probablement à l'engagement d'André envers Monomaque. Ma conférence lors de ce congrès vise à mettre en évidence les enseignements historiques de cette nouvelle source.

Cf. A. GUILLOU – C. ROGNONI, Une nouvelle fondation monastique dans le thème de Calabre (1053-1054): *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84 (1991/1992) 423-429; F. MAKK, Remarques sur l'histoire d'André I^{er} (en hongrois avec rés. fr.): *Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae. Acta Historica* 90 (Szeged 1990) 23-41; Th. OLAJOS, Source byzantine inobservée concernant la protohistoire du peuple hongrois: *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii edita ab A. Schoors et P. Van Deun*. Leuven 1994, 435-441.

Michael VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard and the Byzantine-Norman Marriage Negotiations.

In August of 1074 the emperor Michael VII Doukas signed a marriage contract -in the form of a chrysobull- between his son and heir (only a few months old at th time) and a daughter of Robert Guiscard. The same contract constituted an alliance between the two princes .

The marriage proposal - put forward by Michael VII Doukas to Robert Guiscard at the end of 1072/first months of 1073 - has been given over) to us by two letters of Michael Psellus written in the name of the emperor and addressed to the Norman prince. The same author also drew up the above mentioned marriage contract (χρυσόβουλλος λόγος). Though the dispatch of both letters -within the span of some months - has not been disputed up to now, internal evidence and comparison of their content cast severe doubts concerning the plausibility of the fact. Another question, which also comes up, is for what reason Michael VII (= Michael Psellus) brought about changes in the content of the second letter -regardless of its being dispatched or not -, since there existed no substancial alterations to the emperor's proposals. Solutions to these problems can be suggested provided that the content of the lettters is examined in connection with: a) the political situation in the interior of the Byzantine Empire b) its relations with the powers of the West acting in the Italian peninsula, i.e. the Pope, the German Emperor and the Normans c) the interrelations among the last three factors, their effect on byzantine policy and vice-versa and d) the threatening expansion of the Seldjuks in Asia Minor especially after the battle of Mantzikert (1071). Such an examination leads to a reappraisal of the Byzantine-Norman negotiations under Michael VII as well as of the background of Robert Guiscard's invasion in Byzantium (1081-1085).

**Byzantium and the Ilkhans: the imperial diplomacy in the Orient
ca.1250-1310.**

Since the mongol invasions to the Eastern Europe and the Middle East (1240-1260) the Byzantine Empire tried to use in their own interests the establishment of the new power. After the reconquest of Constantinople the imperial diplomacy balanced between three states: the Golden Horde, the Mamluks and the Ilkhans. The first axis (Golden Horde-Byzantium-Egypt) is evident, but the second one (Byzantium -Asia Minor - the Ilkhanid state) also existed for a half of the XIII-th century. The connections between Byzantium and the Anatolian states (Seljuk sultanate, Cilician Armenia, Trapezuntine Empire and partially Georgia) was established or re-established under the Ilkhanid protection in spite of the Byzantine relations with Golden Horde-Egypt alliance. The investigation of the Byzantine and the Persian sources clearly shows that the interests of Byzantium and the Ilkhanid state coincided for the controlling Asia Minor. The positions of the Orthodox Church in Asia Minor did not changed for this period and sometimes even strengthened due to the mongol's support. This diplomatic system allowed Byzantium to preserve eastern frontiers for more than 50 years. It was the Turkish upheaval missed by Byzantine diplomacy and the followed conquest of the anatolian provinces of the Empire by Türkmens that the diplomatic activity of Byzantium in the Orient reduced and couldn't been restored to the point had existed before.

**The "cross-under-arch" motif in 9th-century Venetian sculpture:
a statement of political allegiance to the emperor in Byzantium?**

Venetian sculpture of the ninth century is dominated by a single decorative motif, which may be found in both religious and secular contexts: a cross, framed by an arch, and flanked by stylized leaves or trees. Examples may be found in the reliefs re-incorporated in the later churches of S. Fosca on Torcello and SS. Maria e Donato on Murano, as well as on the earliest surviving well-heads now housed in the courtyard of the Museo Correr. This iconography is well documented in Byzantine art from the sixth century onwards -- e.g. the book covers from the Sion Treasure (Dumbarton oaks), the frontispiece to the leo Bible (BAV, Reg. gr. 1), or the Harbaville triptych (Louvre). In a recent study of the use of the cross motif in the Paris Gregory (Raris. gr. 510), Leslie Brubaker has documented its implicit imperial connotations, ultimately deriving from the vision of Constantine, and from Helena's subsequent discovery of the relic of the True Cross at Jerusalem.

Per Jonas Nordhagen was the first to argue that the appearance of the "cross-under-arch" motif in Italian sculpture of the 9th century was more properly "Byzantine" than "Lombard", as had been suggested previously, noting its occurrence on the Skripou screen as well as on other sculptural fragments now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens. Although Nordhagen did not suggest any overt political overtones in the use of this motif in Italian contexts, his focus was primarily on the city of Rome. and he did not discuss the Venetian examples. The overwhelming predominance of this design in the earliest extant Venetian sculpture suggests that it may have been chosen deliberately for public display. If the motif was an important imperial symbol in the 9th century, then its prominent public appearance in Venice can hardly be accidental at the very moment when the city's inhabitants had been forced to choose between the eastern empire of Byzantium and the western empire of the Franks.

This paper will suggest that the selection of this motif was indeed a deliberate choice, undertaken to signal the political alignment with Byzantium of the new Venetian capital established at the Rialto in the year 810.

Mika I. Hakkarainen

Silention: Kommunikationshistorische Gesichtspunkt.

1412

Das Terminus silention erscheint in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit als Bezeichnung für eine vom Kaiser geleitete Versammlung des Senats und später auch für ein grösserer Audienz. Ein weiterer semantischer ^h~~W~~^andel des Wortes hat sich im 10. Jhr. ereignet, als silention die vom Kaiser in einer Versammlung am Anfang ^{der Fastenzeit}~~gehaltene Rede~~ bedeutete.

Auf zahlreichen Hinweisen solcher ~~R~~^Sreden in der mittelbyzantinischen historiographischen Quellen und auf uns erhaltenen Texten könnte man schliessen, daß die Versammlung der Fastenwoche eine zeremonielle Redegelegenheit worden war. Der Kaiser hielt vor dem aus Hof und Beamte zusammengesetzten Publikum eine Rede, die die Thematik der Fastenzeit, d.h. die Aufforderung zum Fasten und Reuen, ausnutzte.

Um die sozio-politische Funktion solcher Rhetorik umzureissen, ci sollte man folgendes beachten: 1) die soziale Rolle des Kaisers als politischer und militärischer Führer der byzantinischen Gemeinschaft; 2) die Notwendigkeit die Gemeinschaft über die politische Aktivität des Herrschers zu informieren; 3) die Fastenzeit als eine politische Analogie im höfischen Kultur, die der Rhetorik eine Redegelegenheit bot. Die silentia können als jährlich wiederholende zeremonielle Kommunikationsakten betrachtet werden, deren Zweck die kaiserliche Aktivität für das Publikum zu erklären war und die Versammlung über zukünftiges politisches Handeln Kaisers zu informieren.

author : Nike Koutrakou

1413

title : Information et Propagande. Réaction et équation des termes dans la mentalité méso-byzantine.(VIIIe - Xe siècles).

L'étude de la propagande à Byzance, soit en tant que propagande impériale, soit en tant que contre-propagande de la part de l'opposition du moment, pose le problème d'adéquation entre le terme contemporain de "propagande" et les réalités de la période étudiée. Toutefois, à en juger par les termes de l'époque méso-byzantine, la propagande était perçue comme une tentative de persuasion dans le but d'influencer l'opinion et l'attitude du public auquel elle s'adressait.

En effet, nos sources font état des actions de propagande en mentionnant la réaction, positive ou négative, qu'elles provoquaient, ayant toujours conscience que leur but final était de capter la "εὐνοία", la faveur, l'approbation, de leur public-cible. La réaction est notée par degrés, en employant des termes de charge sentimentale, dont l'analyse offre un aperçu du succès ou de l'échec des actions de propagande en question.

Au registre négatif appartiennent des termes tels que "μῦσος", haine, "ἀπέχθεια", répugnance, "φόβος", peur, etc, ainsi que le verbe "δυσχεραίνειν", (cf. *Theophanes*, *CSHB*, p.739), qui dénotent une réaction de désapprobation non extériorisée de la part du public byzantin, tandis que le verbe "καταβοῶ" (*Ibidem*, p.761) se réfère à une réaction de protestation ouvertement exprimée. Au registre positif, des termes tels que "ἔπαινος", éloge, "ἀγάπη", amour, "φιλία", amitié, etc, (cf. *Κεφάλαια Παραινετικά*, *PG* 107, cols. XXXVI B, XXXVI C), dénotent une réaction d' "εὐφροσύνη", d'approbation, assurant la faveur du public.

Toutefois, la propagande étant avant tout une tentative de persuasion, perçue par le public auquel elle s'adressait en tant que telle, des termes formés sur le verbe "πείσσειν" (ἀναπείσσειν, καταπείσσειν, παραπείσσειν etc), reviennent dans les textes byzantins afin d'exprimer l'action d'attirer vers soi par la persuasion, ou de faire changer d'opinion dans le sens contraire, parfois même -dans le cas du dernier verbe- par de pratiques trompeuses ou d'informations fallacieuses. Il existe cependant un lien sémantique avec la notion d'obéissance, exprimée par la forme passive du même verbe, qui fait que l'action de persuasion exercée par la propagande impériale soit souvent perçue en tant que tentative de réduire à l'obéissance toute opposition. Les paroles que la Vie du patriarche Nicéphore Ier de Constantinople prête aux évêques iconodoules dans leur réponse à Léon V, jouant avec les notions de la persuasion et de l'obéissance, (cf. *PG* 100, col. 137A, "τὸ μὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἡμῶν ἀπειθεὶς πολλὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποσώζει εὐπειθειαν· τὸ γὰρ ὑμῖν πείθεσθαι, τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμᾶς πόρρω καθίστησι..") illustrent bien cette conception. C'est dans ce même sens, oscillant entre l'obéissance et la persuasion, que nous trouvons aussi, parfois, l'emploi néogrec du verbe "πιάνω", exprimant le concept d'essayer d'influencer quelqu'un par rapport à quelque chose.

En même temps, la propagande à Byzance était perçue non seulement par l'intention bien définie de persuasion que présentait une action du gouvernement impérial et par la réaction qu'elle provoquait, mais aussi par la transmission elle-même du message véhiculé. C'est dans ce contexte que les termes qui expriment la diffusion de l'information à Byzance comme les verbes "δημοσιεύω", publier, ou "κηρύσσω", déclarer, présentent souvent une nuance particulière affirmant l'existence d'une intention précise de la part de l'émetteur de l'information. Ceci est évident dans l'emploi des termes traditionnels de diffusion d'information, tels que les verbes "διαλαλῶ", "διαγγέλλω", "διαβοῶ" etc, ou des termes tels qu' "ἐκδιδάσκω" dans le sens d' "informer" et "persuader", ainsi que des expressions, comme "κατάδηλον ποιῶ", ou "καταφανὲς ποιῶ", afin de désigner le fait de rendre publique une information à des fins précises. Mais, c'est surtout le verbe "πληροφοροῦν", informer, quand il prend le sens de "persuader", comme dans les *Πεύσεις* de Constantin V, ainsi que le mot "πληροφορία", nouvelle, qui couvre aussi le concept de "diffusion d'information à un but de persuasion" (cf. *Theophanes*, *CSHB*, p. 723), qui illustrent le mieux et rendent explicite la quasi-identification de l'information et de la propagande à Byzance, où toute diffusion délibérée d'information équivalait à un acte de propagande.-

Claudia Rapp (University of California, Los Angeles)

1421

Bishops, Emperors and Saints: Hagiography and Panegyric in Early Byzantium

As charismatic leaders and public benefactors, holy men and emperors played comparable roles in Late Antique society. This similarity was often played out in the description of emperors as model Christians and of saints as having the influence, popularity and standing of an emperor. Underlying this similarity is the concept of episcopal authority, which could be attributed to and claimed by holy men and emperors alike.

My paper addresses the construction of the relation between worldly power and personal sanctity in Early Byzantine literature. By focusing on the literary depiction of emperors and saints, I will demonstrate how holy men were conceptualized within the existing framework of panegyric, and how in turn the hagiographical treatment of saints exerted a profound influence on the presentation of emperors.

David Frendo

The heroic exploits of Khusrau II: A study in Political Mythology 1422

The successes of the middle years of the reign of Heraclius have imparted something of the authority of a *fait accompli* to the skilful image-making of George of Pisidia, the pious cleric and poet panegyrist of that most Christian Emperor: hence the familiar figure, hallowed by Byzantine tradition, of Heraclius rescuer of the state from the clutches of a tyrannical usurper, restorer of legitimacy, victor of Chosroes, restorer of the True Cross and Saviour of the World. Equally, the bitterness and intensity of the struggle between Byzantium and Iran and the war-time propaganda and eventual victories of Heraclius have ensured for the Sasanian monarch a lasting place in the demonology of Byzantium. Yet Khusrau II had earlier fought, with Byzantine help, his own struggle against a usurper on behalf of a much more clearly defined legitimacy. He too enlisted the help of poetry to celebrate his own victorious exploits in the struggle to recover his ancestral throne. The present paper sets out to recover something of this Sasanian panegyric tradition and to place it in a meaningful historical context.

T.C. Lounghis

Byzantine Narrativ sources on the Nature of the Byzantine State. A comparative study.

2111

Although such terms as Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία have already been thoroughly studied, there have been till now no conclusive remarks concerning the relative frequency of terms in successive historical periods. Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία, for instance, is used by Byzantine authors from the earliest times up to 724, with short reappearances later. The same research shows more or less clearly, that the career of the term Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία commences in narrative sources at the beginning of the ninth century (811) and maintains its high frequency until the end of the empire. Thus, the most frequent Byzantine self-determination or self-determining term independently of time and authors appears to be Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή, which is equally used by almost all authors. Minor conclusions concerning also terms like Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια, Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσία, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία and Ῥωμανία complete the topic.

Until recent years the early Byzantine circus parties, the Blues and the Greens, still remain to be solved theme of the Byzantine study. Understanding terms of sources, above all the term of δῆμος/οι, is one of the disputable tasks. Thus our main intention is to trace development of terms denoted circus parties, a crowd, people etc. by the example of the largest rebellion of the VI-th century (Nika revolt, 532) to be described by chroniclers (Malalas, Pheophanes and the author of the Chronicon Paschale). These sources are of most important so it is the Nika revolt that is the main evidence for advocates of the "Faction theory" (G. Manojlovic, G. Bratianu and others) to prove the said theory.

Each of the Malalas' terms denoting the people has its own, unique meaning. His terms are more likely defined by his estimation of the denoting fact than its impartial matter. It is obvious that Malalas had no a rigid system of the terms describing the people. However the Malalas' variety of these terms testifies that the author had no considered the Nika revolt as a faction rising.

The term δῆμος/οι is the dominant one in the Chronicon Paschale describing the people. It marks an active and rage crowd, the main hero of the revolt. There is no a definite term inclusively connected with the rebels in the Malalas' work, as a rule he used πλῆθος/η as the acting δῆμος/οι. The term πλῆθος/η does not denote a main initiator and participant of the revolt in the Chronicon Paschale. But here the term of δῆμος/οι does not denote the circus parties as well as in the Malalas' work. Although it is obvious that the Nika revolt is described by the Chronicon Paschale's author as an hippodrome revolt (or the rebellion with a main role of the circus parties) to a greater extent than Malalas. The using of the term of τὸ πλῆθος in the Pheophanes' Chronicle is reduced to minimum. The term of δῆμος/οι points up to the political active, rebelling crowd. Although according to Pheophanes the factions took part in the Nika revolt indisputable, they are not denoted as δῆμος/οι, nor πλῆθος/η as they are according to the Chronicon Paschale.

The comparison of these three passages devoted to the Nika revolt allows us to speak that the author of the Chronicon Paschale and Pheophanes have:

- 1) the prevailing usage of the term of the rising people, it is δῆμος/οι;
- 2) the intention to describe the Nika revolt as an hippodrome one although both μέρος/η and δῆμος/οι don't denote the circus parties;
- 3) frequently using the name of the parties itself and permanently returning to the hippodrome.

Besides that it should be noted that Malalas, speaking about the Nika revolt, uses the term of παραχῆς, the author of the Chronicon Paschale - ἡ ανταρσία, and Pheophanes, mentioning ἡ ανταρσία in the beginning of his work, names this revolt as δημοτικῆς παραχῆς later, that is, he underlines that this revolt has popular features than faction ones, although his narration begins and continues mainly in the frame of the hippodrome.

Comparing the Malalas' fragment with ones of the author of the Chronicon Paschale and Pheophanes we can say that the source of the VI-th century is significantly different from the late sources (Chronicon Paschale and Pheophanes). Firstly, there is no a rigid term for the rising crowd, as the main participant, may be, that indicates that there is no any unified attitude to it among the contemporaries. Secondly, he doesn't describe the revolt as the hippodrome or faction one, contrary to the late sources.

MAGISTER MILITUM COMENCIOLUS AND HIS PRESENCE IN BYZANTINE SPANIA (THE EFFECTS OF MAURICE'S EXARCHAL REFORMS)

The names of only two representatives of Imperial authority in the Empire's domains on the Iberian peninsula are known for the seventy years of existence of Byzantine *Spania*: the patricians *Comenciolus* and *Caesarius*. Important historical documents comment on the nature of the activities of both of them. However, my focus here will be on the former, *Comenciolus*, an individual very close to Emperor Maurice who was present in *Spania* in the late 580s, when Maurice's organizational reforms for his western territories were being felt. This new organization is described in Georgius Cyprus' *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, which lists the Hispanic territories (*Septem*, *Spania* and the Balearic islands), specifically in v. 670-674, as the *Eparquía Mauritania II* under Byzantine sovereignty.

In the historical documents that relate *Comenciolus* to *Spania*, he appears as *Patricius*, *Rector* and *Magister Militum Spaniae* (CIL II, 3420) and as *Patricius* and *Gloriossus* (Greg. the Great, *Epist.* XIII, 46 and XIII, 48). These documents also reveal that his activities during his short stay in *Spania* (587-summer 589) were hostile, or military (to fight the Visigothic *hostes barbari*), aedilitian and defensive (to reinforce the defense of the main city in *Spania*), and strictly political (to intervene in the suspicious, potentially restless attitude of some bishops in Hispanic cities under his control). All these activities correspond completely to the particular functions of a *Magister Militum* in Maurice's new organization for the West. That is, they involved both military and civil authority.

Considering all these data as well as information deduced from the passages on the far western territories in Georgius Cyprus' work, I plan to analyze the possible territorial organization of these Hispanic possessions after Maurice's exarchal reform. Likewise, I intend to determine whether or not the Empire's Hispanic possessions were directly dependent on the Exarchate of Carthage or if, because of the specific needs of *Spania*, the Byzantine authorities in the area had increased autonomy even though, in theory, they were under the Exarch of Carthage, as reflected in Georgius Cyprus' text on the *Eparquía Mauritania B*.

The possible internal organization of Byzantine *Spania* over seventy years of existence can only be studied in depth based on these documents, which refer uniquely to Maurice's government. However, these documents also enable us to state that Emperor Maurice considered *Spania* to be yet another of his territories. Despite its particular nature and its distance from Constantinople, *Spania* witnessed Maurice take advantage of any favorable situation on the Iberian Peninsula to consolidate his domains in the area. Its inclusion in the exarchal reform and its government by such a high ranking individual as *Comenciolus* are proof that *Spania*, or the *Eparquía Mauritania II*, was as important as Sardinia and Sicily, to give a few western examples, to the Byzantine Empire.

In their novels on preemption, the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty aimed to protect the integrity of rural communities, which had been dangerously eroded by the end of the 9th. cent. due to the acquisition of peasant land, both civilian and military, by the powerful (*dynatoi*).

Two kinds of linguistic inaccuracies impede exploration of the socio-economic history of Byzantium: imprecise use of terms in sources (by authors, compilers, copyists), and misinterpretation of terms (whether or not correctly represented in sources) by modern scholars. The latter would influence only the task of reconstructing this history. However, the failure to clearly verbalize norms of positive law in contemporary legislation not only made this law vulnerable to distortions and abuses but -- due to misrepresentation of the lawgiver's intentions -- would also influence the course of this history itself.

I am presenting two cases to illustrate the impact of linguistic inadequacy on judicial practice of implementing preemption law in the rural communities after the devastating famine of 927/28.

(1). Romanus I's failure to mention, in his novel of 934, the applicability of prescription to the sale of peasant land in violation of preemption. The lack of any clear provision concerning this matter allowed the bureaucratic apparatus to apply it to illegal sales of that land as well -- undisputably against the emperor's will -- until Basil II clarified this issue in his novel of 996. The angry emperor, expressis verbis, retrospectively abolished any prescription for revindication of peasant land in a (futile) effort to undo the harm.

(2). The ambiguity of the legal concept of military land before and after promulgation of Constantine VII's novel on the strateia in 949. The lack of any specification concerning the difference between the concept of military land prior to 949 (the total property of a soldier's family - stratitikon ktematon) and after 949 (a standard amount of land as one of the elements of the strateia) resulted in bureaucratic manipulations, including an interpolation of the newer version of Romanus I's novel of 922.*

Finally, I would like to emphasize a need to explore the legal content of Byzantine prescription in a historical perspective. D. Nörr (Die Entstehung der longi temporis praescriptio ..., Köln, 1969) offered a meticulous analysis of prescription from ancient Greece to Diocletian. He singled out its linguistic inconsistencies as one of the reasons why the prescription of this era had escaped any definition. It seems, prima facie, that the Byzantine prescription had much more potential to be defined, since -- after the tax reform of Diocletian -- it might be explored in the context of well documented fiscal policies of the state, which this institution was to serve. The most essential element of this task would be to establish whether the prescription of the Macedonian novels was of an extintory or of acquisitory character. And any conclusion of this point would enrich our understanding of that era by adding a new element to explain the hopes and frustrations of the legislation on preemption.

*) I am sharing reservations of the scholars who challenge N. Svoronos' correction of this date to 928. The current analysis of this issue by Andreas Kambas, Spudes sto dikaio protimēseos (a doctoral thesis in manuscript, Athens)

Divorce by Mutual Consent and its Customary
Application in the Byzantine Empire

After a considerable amount of tergiversation, Byzantine imperial legislation eventually abolished divorce by mutual consent in the Macedonian period, under the influence of canon law. The institution had been accepted in both the ancient Greek and Roman legitimate order.

This paper shows that, despite its legal abolition, the dissolution of marriage by the spouses' mutual consent persisted in practice well into the eleventh century, thus indicating the uninterrupted continuation of an institution that, in these circumstances, survived on a purely customary basis.

The variance between legislation and practice made it necessary to cloak divorce by mutual consent in an outwardly legitimate cover. Research to date has found that, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the pretext used was the parents' sponsorship of their own children at baptism, which under canon law automatically dissolved the marriage. The Isaurians devised legislation to deal with this particular loophole, and sanctions were prescribed for spouses who colluded to dissolve their marriage in this way. This paper i) points out that after the Macedonians had finally abolished divorce by mutual consent, the pretext resorted to was the accusation of adultery by one of the spouses, and ii) examines the reasons why this pretext was used.

xxx

Комнины после Комнинов:

династическая идея в Византии в конце XII-XIII в. 211,6

Императорский дом Комнинов, утвердившийся у власти в 1081г., сохранял за собой трон более ста лет. За это время ему удалось не только окончательно внедрить в политическую практику династический принцип престолонаследия, но и определить дальнейшую судьбу византийской автократии. Сильные стороны наследственной монархии сыграли свою положительную роль в стабилизации империи. До 1180г. Византия практически не знала внутренних потрясений. Однако последующие события во многом определялись династическими раздорами.

Андроник 1, чью деятельность принято считать едва ли не антикомниновской, опираясь на социальные преобразования своих предшественников, пытался оставить на престоле своего наследника. Попытка не удалась. Но потеряв власть в Константинополе, семья Андроника 1 возмущается в династии трапезундских Великих Комнинов.

Преемники Комнинов, Ангелы, которых трапезундская историография третировала как узурпаторов, являлись правнуками Алексея 1 Комнина по женской линии. Алексей III еще до воцарения отказался от своего родового имени и в официальных документах именовался Комнином. По нашему мнению, на такой шаг его подтолкнуло появление в Византии нескольких самозванцев, выдававших себя за казнённого Андроником 1 Алексея II Комнина.

Движения самозванцев выявили значительное число сторонников Комнинов и сформировавшееся в общественном мнении представление об их преимущественном праве на трон. Не имея наследника-сына, Алексей III сделал все, чтобы династия не угасла и не утратила императорской власти. Одна из его дочерей, Евдокия, стала женой Алексея V Мурзуфла, другая дочь, Анна, женой основателя Никейской империи Феодора 1 Ласкаря, третья – Ирина, была бабушкой реставратора Византии – Михаила VIII Палеолога. Потомки Алексея 1 правили и в Эпирском деспотате.

Таким образом, и события предшествовавшие катастрофе 1204г., и борьба за византийское наследство между Никеей, Трапезундом и Эпиром были следствием не только центробежных тенденций, но и острого соперничества прямых потомков Алексея 1, основателя славной династии Комнинов.

Les principes d'organisation de l'armée d' après le traité "De velitatione bellica"

L'objet de l'attention exceptionnelle de l'auteur "De velitatione bellica" fut justement la partie des forces armées de l'Empire byzantine composée de contingents des thèmes sous forme des milices territoriales. C'est pourquoi toutes les recommandations du traité étaient adressées immédiatement au stratège du thème, pour qui la défense de la région confiée était une des obligations essentielles parmi ces fonctions de gouverneur.

L'information du traité nous permet de juger que le système d'organisation militaire, basé sur les principes classiques du régime des thèmes, ne répondit plus aux exigences de la situation stratégique réelle qui s'était formée dans les années 40-50 du X^e siècle sur les frontières sud-est de l'Empire. La durée de mobilisation des contingents des thèmes fut trop grande pour les campagnes impétueuses; les qualités militaires des miliciens ne correspondirent pas au professionnalisme de la cavalerie arabe; le niveau de direction générale du commandement fut insuffisant; on n'utilisa pas complètement les réserves de l'influence idéologique, morale, religieuse sur les "défenseurs de la Patrie" en face d'un ennemi, enthousiasmé par des idées du djihâd.

La solution du problème aurait résidé dans la réforme de toutes les structures sociales, économiques et politiques des thèmes frontaliers de l'Empire, la réforme sur les principes d'autarcie compte tenu obligatoirement de l'expérience de la réorganisation pareille, effectuée par les régents des émirats arabes voisins. L'état de la guerre permanente qui caractérisa la situation dans la région de cette période aurait dû donner à l'autarcie la spécification militariste manifestante. Le témoignage de ce problème que contient le traité analysé nous permet de donner une telle interprétation.

Le changement brusque de la situation stratégique dans cette région au début des années 60 empêcha le développement des tendances d'autarcie. La "reconquête byzantine" réanima la priorité des structures suprêmes militaires, et la réorganisation générale des forces armées de l'Empire (en premier lieu, de leur base sociale) se passa sous le contrôle des établissements gouvernants centraux.

«Παῖδες», «πάλληκες» και «ὑπουργοί»:
Ένας αγνοημένος παράγων του βυζαντινού στρατού

Αρκετές έρευνες έχουν γίνει και οι γνώσεις μας μπορούν ίσως να θεωρηθούν επαρκείς όσον αφορά στους βουκελλάριους, τους στρατιώτες-γεωργούς, τους προνοιάρχους ή τους ανώτατους στρατιωτικούς αξιωματούχους και τον ρόλο τους στον βυζαντινό στρατό. Επίσης διαθέτουμε δημοσιεύσεις για τη στρατολόγηση, τα θέματα, τα τάγματα, τον οπλισμό και άλλα θέματα που άπτονται της οργάνωσης του στρατού και της κοινωνίας γενικότερα.

Μία κατηγορία μελών του στρατεύματος, η οποία δεν έχει έως σήμερα ελκύσει το ενδιαφέρον της έρευνας, είναι οι βοηθητικοί στρατιώτες. Αυτοί πρόσφεραν τις υπηρεσίες τους, όπως είναι φυσικό, καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια της ιστορίας του Βυζαντίου και αναφέρονται ως «σταῖδες», «πάλληκες», «ὑπουργοί» και με διάφορες άλλες ονομασίες. Στις πηγές απαντούν ως βοηθητικοί του στρατεύματος ευρύτερα αλλά και κατά περίπτωση ως προσωπικοί συνοδοί βαρεια οπλισμένων πολεμιστών. Αναφύεται το ερώτημα των κριτηρίων επιλογής και της προέλευσης των προσώπων αυτών. Επρόκειτο για μελλοντικούς στρατιώτες, νεαρούς νεοσύλλεκτους, πένητες, δούλους ή μήπως για μη ικανούς για κανονική στρατιωτική υπηρεσία άνδρες;

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2213

«Greek Fire»: A new solution to an old problem

Among the many and sophisticated weapons used by the Byzantines against their enemies, «Greek Fire» is certainly the most famous and intriguing. However, inspite its fame, this naval weapon still challenges the ingenuity of historians and chemists, a fact that can be mainly attributed to the ambiguity of the primary sources.

Thus, inspite the various theories that have been proposed, many important questions have not been answered satisfactoraly. Such are: a) did the «Greek Fire» actually appear in the third quarter of the seventh century? b) were its secrets also known to the enemies of Byzantium? c) how did the Byzantines used that weapon in the sea? d) why was it not used on land? e) what was the «secret» of its composition? f) and finally, how did the Byzantines project it on the enemy ships?

My paper focuses on the problem of projection of the «Greek Fire» and after examining in depth all previous research on the problem, concludes that the Byzantines ejected their «Fire» enclosed in clay pots using a ballista, similar to those used in the hellenistic period, fitted with a tube. An exhaustive analysis of the sources related to the above problem and the presentation of my argumentation that follows, hopes to satisfactoraly support my proposal, which perhaps will be another step towards the solution of the problem of «Greek Fire».

Структура византийской армии в Никейской империи

Никейская армия за период своего недолгого существования прошла путь от небольших отрядов греческих патриотов (численностью 100—300 человек) до многотысячного (6—7 тыс.) разнородного, хорошо оснащенного оружием собственного изготовления войска.

На структуру никейского войска помимо комниновских традиций комплектования оказала влияние и особенность организации армий ее противников. Если для борьбы с рыцарскими формированиями Латинской империи требовались тяжеловооруженные подразделения, то для отпора куманской конницы Болгарии следовало создавать легкую конницу. К середине 30-х годов XIII в. был создан наемный так называемый "латиникон", в 40-е годы образовался "скитикон". Третья составная часть никейского войска — "элленикон", — состояла из фемных отрядов, а также из набираемых каждую весну ранее обученных воинов. В состав войска входила также императорская гвардия.

Никейское войско, в основном, было конным. Пехота, состоящая из пергамских, филадельфийских, пафлагонийских, антиохийских и никейских стрелков и пращников, играла меньшее значение в армии. Для организации дальних и продолжительных походов, регулярного снабжения войска была создана должность — великий стратопедарх, отвечающий перед императором за обеспечение армии.

UNE REMISE EN QUESTION DE LA POLITIQUE DE JUSTINIEN ENVERS LES PEUPLES DU DANUBE.

En ce qui concerne la politique exercée par Justinien dans la frontière nord de l'empire, les opinions des historiens modernes sont à peu près identiques au fait que le grand empereur du Byzance a sacrifié la Péninsule balkanique à l'intérêt de la "Reconquista".

Pourtant, une étude plus attentive des sources qui se réfèrent aux événements de son long règne, ainsi que la nouvelle approche du problème dans le cadre des conditions historiques établies autour de la région du Danube à l'époque respective, peuvent affaiblir cette impression et conduisent à des conclusions différenciées à celles qui ont été tirées jusqu'à présent.

D'ailleurs, une rétrospection sommaire de l'histoire des Balkans et de la politique exercée par les prédécesseurs de Justinien, ainsi qu'un coup d'oeil rapide sur les événements politico-militaires qui fournissent l'image des régions danubiennes à l'époque de ses successeurs, contribuent à une estimation plus objective de la politique de l'Empereur envers les peuples du Danube.

L'examen global des problèmes (tant préexistants que contemporains de Justinien) soulevés dans la région du Danube à l'époque, en rapport avec la situation générale de l'Empire, en aucun cas ne témoigne un échec et ne prouve une incapacité d'application d'une politique différente.

Nous estimons, donc, que le choix d'une politique plus souple (combinaison de moyens diplomatiques et militaires), imposée par le besoin d'affronter pour la première fois un assez grand nombre de peuples de race différente, a été une réussite; la politique de Justinien a empêché des conséquences sérieuses et néfastes, apportées sur les provinces nordiques, par la politique de certains de ses prédécesseurs et de ses successeurs.

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2222

"Contributi geografici per la demarcazione della frontiera bizantina in Spagna"

"Geographical contributions to the demarcation of borders in Byzantine Spain"

The aim of this paper is to consider one of the most important problems related to the Byzantine presence in the Iberian Peninsula the precise demarcation of its borders. In contrast with the scarce but significant evidence about its effective extension offered by literary and epigraphic sources, as a matter of fact we lack explicit references about the borders.

At this regard, we have made use of methodological eclecticism and different approaches to establish it: archaeological evidence about little temporal settlements at the borders, epigraphic funeral inscriptions such as that of the visigoth dux Framidaneus, and some remarkable literary documents, specially some news from Juan de Biclano and Isidoro de Sevilla.

As a consequence, the final purpose of this research will demonstrate, from my point of view, the probable confirmation, by geographical and archaeological, epigraphical and literary reasons, of the hypothesis about the existence of a border which agrees with an imagined line that crosses the highest zone in the Betic mountains range from the Strait of Gibraltar to Cape La Nao.

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2223

The Foundation of "polismata" in the district of Thrace and their incorporation in the byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy by the iconoclast emperor Constantine V.

In a clear and explicit way patriarch Nicephorus in his Breviarium gives the information about the erection of fortifications ("πολίσματα"), which in another work are called castles ("φρούρια"), by the iconoclast emperor Constantine V. The sources do not refer with any accuracy to neither how many, nor which were those fortifications. Nevertheless, it is very likely to find them out through the Notitia number 3 in the Darrouzès edition, the so-called of the "iconoclasts, and to have a view about the castles erected by Constantine V. A significant augmentation in the number of bishoprics of the area of Thrace is testified in this Notitia; and metropolis of Traianoupolis consists the most characteristic case, where the number of its bishoprics is increased by 400 %.

Although the reasons of the foundation of new bishoprics are not ascertained clearly in the sources, however it could be connected with the erection of new fortifications in Thrace. Furthermore, it could be combined with the efforts of Constantine V to secure the loyalty of the area next to Constantinople to the iconoclast emperor.

The Byzantine frontier in the Balkans in the 11th & 12th centuries

I begin with an analysis of the material environment of the Balkan frontier, comparing and contrasting the lands beside the Danube and the Adriatic littoral. I demonstrate that patterns of settlement and elements of material culture within each region were altered by contact with Byzantium. I highlight a number of practices which furthered Byzantine interests: the depopulation and prohibition on cultivating certain regions; the fortification of strategic sites as enclaves; the promotion of controlled trade at designated entrepôts; non-taxation of local populations; the promotion of the Orthodox Church and faith. I also examine the coordinating role of the frontier *strategos*, later the *doux*.

For the most part, these measures benefitted the local *ethne*, and in the case of trade also benefitted foreign powers who might otherwise pose a threat to frontier stability. However, I stress that the nature and direction of the potential threats changed over time, upsetting the equilibrium in frontier regions, and provoking different imperial reactions. Basil II favoured direct control throughout the Balkan frontier, installing garrisons and rebuilding late antique forts. The emperors of the mid-eleventh century withdrew resources and relied on patronage of the leaders of frontier *ethne*. This proved effective until competition from beyond the frontier offered alternative means of patronage, and the absence of any means to enforce Byzantine policy in the peripheral lands precipitated the crises of the 1070s.

Subsequently, the Comnenian emperors pursued an active, often aggressive frontier policy in the Balkans. Once Alexius I had eliminated the Pechenegs he directed resources away from the north towards the West, to counter the threats posed by the Normans and the recalcitrant Serbs. John II consolidated this, although we know little of his activities, and Manuel I, increasingly preoccupied with the West, used Dalmatia and Sirmium as launchpads for protracted diplomatic and periodic military initiatives in northern Italy and Hungary. I conclude with the observations that by the late twelfth century the Balkan frontier had become the domain and proving ground of the triumphant military aristocracy, and in particular of the *sebastoi*, and that the relationship between centre and periphery was always both dynamic and symbiotic.

Commerce local à Byzance et en Romanie vénitienne (XIII-XV siècles).

Le problème, qui nous occupe concerne au premier chef les historiens de l'économie byzantine. Nous abordons en effet, les spécificités des liens entre les réseaux commerciaux locaux interrégionaux à Byzance et en Romanie Latine. Les dynamiques parallèles du commerce sur les marchés locaux provinciaux et du développement global de l'économie et de la société, relèvent de la même problématique. Deux solutions semblent s'imposer lorsque l'on tente de contourner l'obstacle major que constitue le manque de source. La première consiste en une réinterprétation des sources déjà longtemps connues et utilisées. La seconde est basée sur la mise en perspective des sources byzantines et italiennes dans une optique comparative. En dehors des renseignements qu'elles fournissent les sources italiennes jettent en effet un jour nouveau sur des sources byzantines dont on pourrait croire l'intérêt épuisé.

La supposition selon laquelle la société byzantine tardive ne connut pas d'essor de son économie d'échange s'appuie essentiellement sur les données fournies par Georges Gémiste Plethon. Il convient toutefois de souligner que l'intérêt de cet «économiste» byzantin se portait sur l'institution de taxes proportionnelles aux revenus, tandis que l'idée de paiement en nature plutôt qu'en espèces ne semblent pas entrer nettement dans son raisonnement.

Une autre idée reçue concerne le «contrôle» des marchés locaux par les monastères et l'entrave que celui-ci constitue au développement du commerce. Cette hypothèse se fonde sur l'interprétation des documents mentionnant un paiement aux monastères pour une *πανήγυρις*, comme l'acquittement d'une taxe pour la commercialisation («foire»). Nous proposons d'interpréter ces versements comme une taxe à l'occasion de l'organisation, par une église, de telle ou telle fête religieuse. Dans cette optique, les marchés locaux apparaîtraient comme potentiellement plus indépendants des «féodaux».

Un autre angle d'approche concerne l'étude du groupe des *μέσοι*, auquel peuvent se rattacher les marchands byzantins «moyens» actifs à l'échelon local. Mais les sources les concernant ne reflètent que l'indifférence des *μέσοι* envers la vie politique. En aucun cas, elles ne permettent d'en faire une «classe marchande décadente».

Les sources vénitiennes mettent en lumière certaines réalités du commerce local tant sur les territoires byzantins (essentiellement Péloponnèse et Thessalonique) qu'en Romanie vénitienne où les marchands byzantins s'avèrent actifs. Parmi ceux on peut relever nombre de non-professionnels (notamment dans le Péloponnèse et à Négrepont). De même, les commerçants vénitiens étaient présents jusque sur les marchés villageois où ils traitaient aussi avec les petits commerçants. Le personnage le plus important du marché local restait, bien entendu, le petit grossiste.

Nous ne possédons aucune donnée chiffrée qui puisse éclairer quelque perspectives que se soit quant au développement de l'économie régionale. Toutefois, l'idée d'une décadence marquée par la naturalisation de l'économie et la prépondérance des «féodaux» et étrangers aux marchés locaux, ne nous semble guère rendre compte de la réalité observable.

Byzantine Tradition in Economical Privileges Granted by the
Emperors of Trebizond.

It is well Known that only a few documents emanating from
from the chancery of the Grand Komnenoi survived.
Therefore, although most of them (originals/forgeries) concern
donations and fiscal privileges for monasteries or laymen, we
could hardly claim that we are sufficiently informed about
those privileges.

Nevertheless, the comparative study of those Trapezuntine
documents with similar Constantinopolitan ones and the histo-
rical evidence may add to our knowledge about:

1. The grants of Grand Komnenoi in general.
2. The similarities or differences of the status quo of such
privileges in the Byzantine empire and that of Trebizond.
- and 3. The extent to which Byzantine tradition in socio -
economical institutions was adopted by the Trapezuntine
State.

**Donors and their Donations from Dedicatory Notes on Manuscripts
of the Palaiologan Period**

In colophons on Greek manuscripts we find evidence of several different kinds of patronage and donation, i.e.:

- 1) Patronage for the personal acquisition of a manuscript.
- 2) The commissioning of a manuscript for the purpose of donating it to a monastery or a church.
- 3) Donations of manuscripts to individuals.
- 4) Donations of real estate or of goods and chattels to monasteries.
- 5) Patronage for the erection of a church.

The manuscripts come from several regions of the Byzantine Empire as well as from prior dominions such as Italy and Cyprus.

The patrons and donors are classified into two big categories: a) laymen b) clergymen, monks and nuns. Some patrons had links with the Imperial court while others held high rank in the army or were members of the church hierarchy; the majority, however, were simple laics or abbots, monks and priests who donated a manuscript or other goods to a certain monastery.

The act of donation is usually carried out by a single person although in a few cases we find married couples as sponsors.

The decision either to make a donation or to offer patronage is expressed in different ways (τῇ προστάξει καὶ συνεργείᾳ, σπουδῇ καὶ ἐξόδῳ, ἔδωκεν, δῶρον προσήξα, ἀφιέροῖ, etc).

Many times the sponsor declares that he has made the donation either for the salvation of his own soul or in memory of deceased members of his family.

The donors' social status and financial standing are examined in relation to the quality of some manuscripts (materials, illumination) and the level of literacy of the scribes (language, spelling, notes in verse); the content of the manuscripts is also studied with reference to the particular interests of the donors and the specific purpose of the donation.

Passages gynécologiques du texte grec des Ephodia

Les *Ephodia* sont la traduction grecque (fin 10^e s.) du *Zad al Musafir*, manuel de thérapeutique du médecin arabe Ibn al-Gazzar. Cette traduction, réalisée dès la fin du 10^e s. en Italie du sud par Constantin de Rhégion, a connu un grand succès à Byzance, puisqu'au 14^e s. on en parle comme du « fameux traité syrien ». Il a subi de nombreuses transformations à travers une tradition manuscrite touffue — comme si chaque copiste avait profité de son travail pour compléter ou modifier le texte originel — jusqu'à ne plus se présenter, dans certains manuscrits, que comme une compilation de recettes thérapeutiques. Ces transformations donnent des renseignements précieux sur l'évolution de la pratique médicale byzantine.

Les chapitres gynécologiques, embryologiques et obstétricaux qui constituent le livre VI sont particulièrement instructifs sur la façon dont les médecins byzantins concevaient la génération et la naissance, ainsi que sur leur attitude vis-à-vis de la double tradition médicale, savante et populaire, concernant la contraception et l'avortement. La traduction grecque diffère sur ce point de celle réalisée en latin par Constantin l'Africain et connue sous le nom de *Viaticum*.

Official Byzantine medicine appears tightly bound to doctrines of the Hippocratics, of Galen and (specially in gynaecology) of Soranus. In some cases, their works have been transmitted through selection; in others, they were excerpted (secondarily) in approximately newer texts enriched with elements from witchcraft and superstition's domain.

For our cognisance of the gynaecology of the Late-Antiquity and Byzantine times there is a work, not exempt of importance, that although not overseen it has not so far been considered in its just value. It is the treatise *Περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας* credited to Metrodora.

Laurentianus plut. 75, 3 codex, an eleventh century collection of texts on therapeutic methods, copied in a minuscule designed in a "Keulensstil" probably between Calabria and Campania contains on ff. 4^v-33^v as the *unique attestation* a resume (ἐκ τῶν) from Metrodora's work *On the feminine Diseases of the Womb*. Nothing is known about Metrodora nor the period of time she lived. From a chronological point of view there is only a *terminus post quem* sure thanks to the citation of Alexander of Tralles (6th century) written on the margins of f. 20 of the manuscript.

The so transmitted 108 chapters deal not only with the peculiar diseases concerning the *uterus* and obstetrics range, but also with the ailments of the breasts and of the stomach and contains the recipes on numerous and varied medicaments in addition to cosmetics, aphrodisiacs and dubious magic remedies such as the one to avoid discovering the adultery. This work would result a handbook of encyclopedical character for practical uses (see the repeated indication διὰ πείρας) with the only presentation of therapeutical remedies taken from the ancient Greek medicine. In fact, we have achieved identifying in our *manual* several adaptations of passages of the gynaecological works of Hippocrates and Soranus, in so much as from the vast Galen's production; and book IV is on its greatest part compounded with excerpts from the *Therapeutica* of the already mentioned Alexander of Tralles.

It seems undeniable that this book is composed in several parts. The same distribution of the books and chapters, and the absence of an orderly numerical succession of them leads us to think on an encyclopaedic handbook that turns up to us in an incomplete stage. From the practical type of work oriented towards the specialised field of midwives we infer that Metrodora is not the name of a woman-doctor (the first authoress in Greek medicine) but a "Spitzname" or pseudonym derived from the manuscript's subject matter (ἡ μήτρα = uterus, and τὸ δῶρον = gift, present) and that this could be a compilation by a physician. It is a mystery to us, due to dealing with a predominantly masculine literature, to determine in what measure the knowledge was proper for and open to woman-specialists (μαῖα, λάτραινα) that in the daily life were in charge of the corresponding treatment, and if they contributed with their personal experiences in this practice.

In this way, what we pretend is to find the manuscript has been applied to an individual use, so to say, it belongs to private medicine, for physicians are *well-educated* members of the society, and *nucleus* for the circulation of manuscripts for practical uses; or if it belongs to official centres and hospitals dependent of medical schools that bloomed during 10th to 12th centuries in the south of Italy, as in the case of Reggio and the most renowned of Salerno, conscious that the recipe-books and texts are the same ones transcribed and used in Latin translation at the beneventan area, some of them well-known in the *milieu* of the salernitan medical school.

ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΗ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΣΤΗΝ
ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΦΡΑΙΜ

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζεται από λαογραφική άποψη ένα χωρίο της *Χρονογραφίας* του Εφραίμ , που αναφέρεται στις συμβουλές που υποτίθεται ότι έδωσαν Εβραίοι γιατροί στον Μ.Κωνσταντίνο , για να θεραπευτεί από το δερματικό νόσημα που τον βασάνιζε τα τελευταία χρόνια της ζωής του (Εφραίμ , *Χρονογραφία* , 350 , εκδ. Οδ.Λαμψίδη , CFHB , Athenis , 1990) . Το ίδιο επεισόδιο αναφέρεται και από αγιολογικά κείμενα που παρέχουν τον βίο του αγίου Κωνσταντίνου (Fr.Halkin , *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-1960) , σ.14) αλλά και από λαϊκά αναγνώσματα της περιόδου της Τουρκοκρατίας , όπως ο *Χρονογράφος* του Δωροθέου Μονεμβασίας .

Από τη συγκριτική εξέταση των βυζαντινών πηγών και του αντίστοιχου νεοελληνικού λαογραφικού υλικού προκύπτει ότι η αντίληψη που υποκρύπτεται σ' αυτές τις διατυπώσεις , γύρω από την ιδιαίτερη θεραπευτική αξία του αίματος , ιδιαιτέρως μάλιστα αυτού που ανήκει σε μικρά και αγνά παιδιά , οπότε η μαγική του δύναμη αυξάνει , αποτελεί τμήμα των ιδεών της παραδοσιακής ιατρικής πρακτικής των βυζαντινών χρόνων , που επιβιώνουν και στον ελληνικό παραδοσιακό πολιτισμό . Πρόκειται για μια γενικότερη παράδοση , η οποία αποδίδει μεγάλη σημασία στο αίμα και στην συμβολική - μαγική αξία του , λόγω της οποίας χρησιμοποιείται ευρύτατα σε μαγικές και θεραπευτικές πράξεις του ελληνικού λαού , όπως και σε αντίστοιχες πρακτικές άλλων λαών , που αποτελούν , κατά κάποιο τρόπο , παράλληλα του χωρίου του Εφραίμ , που εξετάζεται στα πλαίσια της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης .

In an earlier paper I have shown how two antithetical methodologies, dealing with individual subjectivity and constructed identity, could enrich our understanding of Anna Komnene and her Alexiad.¹ Since then I have expanded further upon that line of inquiry, and have extended my investigation to encompass another aspect of the Alexiad, its presentation of the ideal maternal.² Anna's lively narratives about her mother, the Empress Irene, and her paternal grandmother Anna Dalassene, which have been the focus of this study, are all the more striking within the framework of a history dedicated to the life and deeds of Alexios Komnenos, the all-powerful imperial father. Central to my investigation has been a consideration of power relationships between the gendered categories of imperial men and imperial women in Byzantine culture. The Alexiad, which Anna authored as both "historian" and "good daughter," as she herself informs us, is also her autobiography. In it she claims her space in the history of one of the culturally richest periods of the Byzantine Empire.

Anna forcefully establishes her maternal genealogies as models and organizing images for her own social relations and authorial production, in spite of the fact that throughout her text she is careful to remind us that she is her father's devoted daughter. She herself felt both conflicted and ambivalent about being a woman and resisted placing herself within that gendered category as constructed in her own time, that is, as an emotional, fearful being, not as able as men.³ But Anna also knew that she could not escape the gendered category of woman, which structured her relation to imperial power and was the cause of her many sorrows. In the Alexiad, she presents herself and her maternal models as exceptions to this category and more than once stresses that she, her mother, and her grandmother were as good, and even better than men. The ideal maternal, as constructed by Anna, also has a significant component of imperial power associated with it. This association is of primary importance in the lively portrait of her paternal grandmother, Anna Dalassene, "the mother of the Komnene," to whom, according to Anna, Alexios entrusted the Empire with complete confidence.

Whereas she had known her grandmother only for a short time, Anna was close to her mother during her whole life, until the latter's death in 1123. That Anna's feelings for her mother were very profound is clear throughout the Alexiad, where she takes care to always cite both her parents when she speaks of her imperial descent and describes herself as being both philometor and philopator. Anna makes this claim in Book VI. 8, immediately after a wonderful and rather astonishing passage for an official imperial history, in which she describes her birth. This account locates the origins of Anna's relationship to her mother in the womb itself, with the mother speaking to her unborn child. Clearly for Anna this maternal relationship was very important on an emotional level and she pursues it throughout her narrative.

Existing in multiple roles, Anna's gender is unstable and crosses the boundaries of categories taken for granted in Byzantine society and in Anna's history, e.g., empress, Greek princess, good daughter, and historian. It is the crossing of these boundaries and categories, the uneasy shifts between them, and the lively personal insights they reveal that make Anna Komnene's Alexiad a document of great complexity which can only be fully understood within the context of contradictory and intersecting methodological frameworks.

¹ Kathleen Biddick, "Genders, Bodies, Borders: Technologies of the Visible," Nancy Partner, "No Sex, No Gender," Speculum 68 (1993), 389-418, 419-443.

² Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Engendered Category or Recognizable Life: Anna Komnene and her Alexiad," Twentieth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers, 20-23 October, 1994, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 25-26. A longer version of this paper will be published in the 1996 volume of Byzantinische Forschungen.

³ Georgina Buckler, Anna Komnene, 115-117, observes that Anna, in general, seems to have a poor opinion of women. However, she presents positively most of the specific women she discusses. Therefore I suggest that it is the category "women" of which she has a poor opinion and not specific women.

Eunuchen als πάντων κακῶν ἐργάται ?

Trotz eines solch harten Vorwurfs von Konstanthinos Manasses (Kompendium Chronicum, 434, 5727ff.) haben sich die Eunuchen während der früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Zeit in ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung aktiv behaupten können, sowohl im Hof als auch im Kirchenleben, aber auch im privaten Lebensbereich. Theophanes Continuatus (CSHB., p. 318) erzählt zum Beispiel, daß die Hofeunuchen in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit " wie die Fliegen im Viehstall des Frühlings " existiert waren. Diese Erzählung wird bekräftigt durch die Angabe im Kletrologion von Philotheos, daß zehn Ämter und acht Würden ausschließlich den Hofeunuchen vorbehalten worden seien. Da die moderne Byzantinistik meines Erachtens keine genügende Interesse am Eunuchenwesen gezeigt hat, um der weittragenden Bedeutung des Eunuchenwesens in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft gerecht zu werden, soll in diesem Kurzreferat ein Versuch unternommen werden, anhand einigen Daten ein realistisches Bild von den Hofeunuchen zu geben. Das Eunuchenwesen hat das byzantinische Reich sozusagen vom seinem Gebutstag an begleitet und verrät unweigerlich seinen orientalischen Charakter. Und wenn wir ihn nicht als einen seiner Wesenszüge mitzählen würden, würde unser Byzanzbild ein ewiger Torso bleiben.

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Abstract of the communication: "The monastery of Zelianos - the first slavic monastic institution on Mount Athos"

It is in the first half of the eleventh century when the small Athonite monastery of Zelianos appears for a first time in the sources. The second act of Saint Panteleimon's archive (1034) reveals that the monk Anthony, spiritual father of the abbot of the monastery of Katzari Christodulos, gave to the monk Ephraim a place suitable for monastic life called Zelianos' place. The first document of Xenophon's archive (1089), states that this was in fact the name of an ancient monastery, which was no longer an independent monastic settlement, but was subordinated to the abbot of Katzari's monastery.

Why may we consider the monastery to have been Slavic? There is no evidence for the origin of the monks who lived in it, but the monastery bears the name of its founder and it is undoubtedly of Slavic origin. The name Zheljanû derives from the Slavic root *жел-* (zhelj), apparent in the word *желѣти*-(zhelêti) meaning, according to Franz von Miklosich *ἐπιθυμεῖν, θέλειν* or *πενθεῖν*. According to some documents of Iveron's archive the name *Желѣтанъ* was in common use among the Bulgarian Slavs settled in Chalkidiki peninsula and its transliteration in Greek as *Ζελιάνος* was a current one. Therefore, the monastery of Zelianos was the earliest Slavic monastic settlement on Mount Athos and was probably a Bulgarian foundation.

The very difference between the monastery of Zelianou and the later Slavic institutions on Athos is that Zelianos' monastery began its existence by taking the name of its founder, a Slav, who could well be a Byzantine subject, while all the other monasteries which gradually obtained Slavic character were originally established as Greek monastic institutions. The former was a minor inhabitation named after its founder, while the others were major inhabitances, which at a certain moment were taken over by the Slavs. This is evidence, therefore, of the fact that the Slavic population of the Balkan peninsula participated, though on a limited scale, in the life of the monastic community on Athos in the early 11th century.

Ethnic names in the State of Epiros in the thirteenth century

The capture of Constantinople by the Latins of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, led to the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire and the establishment of a number of latin and greek states. One of the latter was the State of Epiros. Besides the Latin expansion, the ferocious campaigns of tsar Kalojan against the Greeks of Macedonia and Thrace before and after 1204 had serious political and ecclesiastical consequences, and affected most severely the people of the west provinces. The predicament of the people and much about the society of the State of Epiros in the first half of the thirteenth century are reflected in the writings of three clergymen and eminent scholars, Demetrios Chomatenos, John Apokaukos and George Bardanes.

I. In this paper special meanings of the ethnonyms Illyrioi, Vlachs and Bulgarians used by the three scholars are being examined. There is a differentiation between real ethnonyms and an historical use of a term, i.e. Bulgaria as a state and/or as the archbishopric of Bulgaria (Achris), Illyrion or Illyris as a reminiscent of the prefecture of Illyrikon or places belonging ecclesiastically to the archbishopric of Achris, etc.

II. The «hapax» use of the term «Macedonians» in one of Demetrios Chomatenos' decisions refers most probably to a refugee or a veteran who came from the theme of Macedonia (in Thrace) and had settled in a village near Achris after his marriage. This view is corroborated by contemporary uses of the term «Macedonia» by George Acropolites.

The Ethnic Composition of the Population of the South-
-Eastern Maritime Territories of the Black Sea, Laz.

The term "Laz" denoting the population of the Laz kingdom, a successor to Colchis, besides its ethnic meaning also had a certain political implication, the area of its dissemination coincided with the political borders of this kingdom.

Georgian scholars possess quite interesting information concerning the problem under discussion.

In the Georgian version of the memoria by Euthymius the Athonite (958-1028) dedicated to the travels of Apostle Andrew, the region of Trebizond is referred to as "the land of Megrelians": "(Andrew the First-Called) came to the city of Trebizond which is situated in the country of Megrelians". In the Georgian text of the Acaphyst belonging to Giorgi the Athonite (1009-1065) the region of Trebizond is also called "the country of Megrelians". "(Caesar Heracles) arrived in Trebizond in the land of Megrelians, i.e., where Megrelians lived".

One of the 19th-century narrators mentions the names of those Laz begs who were related to Georgian noble families - the Zvambaias, the Muradishvilis, the Shalikashvilis, the Jordanias, the Baltashvilis. It should be noted that these family names still exist in Georgia mainly in mountainous Achara, Guria, and Samegrelo provinces.

All the materials presented in this work lead to the conclusion that the Laz - descendants of Colchians - considered themselves to be part of the tribe of Megrelians (Laz+egr), they lived on the South-Eastern littoral of the Black Sea since times immemorial; they are not the Anatolized Laz of western Georgia who may have come to this region as a result of migration from Georgia to the Byzantine Empire: they lived there since ancient times. The fact that the term Laz was used to refer to the population of this region facilitated the emergence of the toponym Lazica, which originally denoted an administrative-ecclesiastical district, subsequently it also denoted an administrative-political unit.

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**Ethnic history of Byzantine Crimea
(the first half of the 3d – 7th centuries)**

Byzantium was of great importance for ethnic processes in the Crimea, which had a vital role in spreading its influence in the Northern Black Sea Coast. It was here where the clashes between the interests of the Empire and alliances of tribes formed by Goths, Huns, Avars, ancient Bulgarians, Pechenegs and Polovtzi in different period took place.

The sources testify about high dynamics of ethnic processes in the Crimea in Late - Roman period. Migrations, which arose in the end of the first half of the 3d century as a result of military activity of Germans, greatly changed the ethnopolitical situation on the peninsula. Roman Empire had to abandon its presence in the Crimea. Bosporos Kingdom came to the control of Germanic tribes for more than twenty years. In the South - Western Crimea Alans and Germans dominated since 250s. Alans settled in the European part of Bosporos Kindom and reached Chersonesos, where they began to settle. In 260s. a grave crisis broke out there, perhaps it was caused by the decline of an important partner of Late - Scythian state, the departure of Roman Army and the seizure of the Black Sea communications by Germans.

The situation in the Crimea became stabilized after the crushing defeat of Crimean Germans in 276. The winners, Bosporos kings, renewed friendly relations with the Roman Empire. After the Empire had managed to pacify Barbarians on the frontiers, it activated its policy on the peninsula. They realized geopolitical importance of Chersonesos as well as of Bosporos to establish direct contacts with the tribes which settled in the Azov region and the Crimea. Rome tried to subordinate Bosporos, probably with a certain result. In the end of the 3d century a Roman garrison came back to Chersonesos. By the end of the 4th century Roman soldiers turned the city into the largest fortress on the peninsula. In the 4th century Bosporos and Chersonesos became economic partners of the Empire - suppliers of grain for Constantinople.

In the Epoch of Great Migration ethnic processes on the peninsula became more active again. In the beginning of the 5th century Huns captured the steppe and a part of European Bosporos and from the midcentury they began to control the capital of Bosporos and its neighbourhood. The described events destabilized the situation in the Crimea and caused new migrations of Alans and Goths.

In the South - Western Crimea during the century nomadic Alans had been settling; they and Goths were developing new methods of management. The transition to the settled way of life was, probably, accompanied by generating farming communities and Christianization. According to Procopius, local Goths had already been foederates of the Empire in the second half of the 5th century.

Strengthening the defence system of Chersonesos was the answer of the Empire to the seizure of the considerable part of the peninsula by the nomads, whom Byzantine historians called Huns. The commander of Byzantine garrison governed the city. By the end of the 5th century the city became the main economic, military and political partner of the settled population of the mountainous Crimea.

The activities of Justinian I (527-565), Justinian II (565-578) and Mauriki (582-602) to defend the Empire's territories greatly affected the ethnic processes in the Crimea in the 6th - 7th centuries.

THE FOEDERATES OF LATE ROMAN-BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN THE CRIMEA.

There are three regions of spreading different forms of political influence of Late Roman- Byzantine Empire: Cherson (Ancient Chersonesos) with adjacent territories of South-western Taurica, Southern Coast bounded by mountainous ridge, and Bosporos (Ancient Pantikapaion) on the western extremity of the peninsula.

The northern coast of Meotidos with its Sarmatian-Alan population alienated from Bosporos with the appearance of Goths in the Azov Region. But during the sea raid of Goths (Borans) from Meotidos in 258-259 Bosporos maintains its independence. Onli in 268 Goths (Heruls) seize Bosporos and a considerable part of Taurica with its Southern Coast, from this period the burial rite of cremation begins to spread (cemeteries of Ay-Todor Type). At the same period a part of Roman army leaves the fort on the coast - Kharax (Ay-Todor) and Cherson. As a result of it minting of coins stopped in Cherson, but soon it restores its independence besing on Alan-Gothic neighbourhood, and in 80s of the 3d century a contingent of foederates of the Empire was formed with a status of *ἐνσπονδοι* (allies).

After successful wars with Bosporos and Goth-Sarmatian population of the Northern coast of Meotidos Cherson established the control over the whole shore where it formed the settlements of foederates *κατήκκοι* (subordinated). Due to the unstable relations of the latter with the Empire a considerable part of them left the places of settlements, joining to Gothic raids of Allarich in 70s of the 4th century.

From the end of the 4th - the beginning of the 5th century new population is attracted to settle the southern coast with a new contingent of foederates and as a new status of "allies" with a policy of Theodosius I and his sons. Later (together with the local Alanic component) it layed the foundation of the Culture of Crimean Gothia of the 6th-8th centuries.

One of the early waves of this migration represents a hoard of copper coins of the beginning of the 5th century (the earliest coin belongs to 408), which included imitations of Radiate minimi. Similar hoards were known only in the south of England and in the north of France (Boulogne, Bermondsey, Caerwent I, Cirencester I, Clavier I, Falaen, Florange, Haarlem, Hapert, Helchteren, Icklingham, Kiddington, Laxton, Lierre, Linas, Nobottle, Redenhall, Remerschen, Richborough I, II, Spontin tombe C, Stretham, Sursy, Trèves, Weymouth Bay, Wiveliscombe, Woodbridge, Worlebury, Wroxall). The eastern extremity of Ay-Todor treasure was noted in Belgium.

The discovery of Ay-Todor hoard in the Southern Coast of the Crimea makes clear the penetration of some synchronous archaeological materials shows way of the migrations of foederates from the north-west of Europe to Taurica.

**Этнический и конфессиональный состав населения Каффы в конце XIV в.
по данным Массарий (о методике обработки материала).**

Обширные просопографические данные, содержащиеся в счетных книгах генуэзской колонии, позволяют обратиться к исследованию вопросов демографии средневекового Причерноморья. Целью составления Массарий была фиксация движения денег со счета на счет, запись доходов, расходов и долгов коммуны; поэтому основное содержание источника составило именно взаимоотношение трех указанных категорий данных. Появление в этих документах того или иного лица далеко не случайно и связано, по меньшей мере, с его социальным статусом, должностью и национальностью. По этой причине прямой подсчет по категориям лиц, фигурирующих в документах, не может дать действительной картины состава населения Каффы. Иначе надо допускать, что в ней, скажем, в 1381 г. было поровну - по одному - консулов и рабов, а старосты были столь же многочисленны, как и моряки. Решить вопрос о составе населения возможно лишь тогда, когда станет известно, какая доля лиц того или иного этноса, конфессии или профессии (разная для разных) оказалась занесена в книгу массариев, или наоборот, сколько лиц туда не попало.

Подобные проблемы возникают в различных отраслях исторического знания, для их разрешения необходимо уже применение математического моделирования. Для построения модели исследователь должен знать, сколько раз то или иное лицо упомянуто в его источнике и сколько лиц упомянуто то или иное число раз. Формула $y = a(b-x)^c$, описывающая зависимость между количеством упоминаний и числом объектов, отмеченных не менее, чем указанное число раз, была обнаружена в результате обработки нумизматического материала Трапезундской империи¹. Она позволила определить, сколько типов монет не попало в руки нумизматов, хотя их и должны были отчеканить. Оказалось возможным приложить формулу и к просопографическому материалу², в результате чего была заново определена численность генуэзцев в Константинополе в 1281 г. (645-650 чел.), а также по данным А.П. Каждана установлено число фамилий византийской знати XI-XII в. (545 фамилий). Завершающееся сейчас составление просопографической анкеты по Массарии 1381 г. позволит сообщить Конгрессу данные о числе генуэзцев и татар, евреев и греков, которые составляли активное население Каффы в это время.

¹ "Чего нет, того не сосчитать"? или сколько в Византии чеканили монеты // Математическое моделирование исторических процессов. - М., 1996. - С.224-235

² Кого нет, того не сосчитать? или сколько в Византии было знати и купцов // Математическое моделирование исторических процессов. - М., 1996. - С. 236-244.

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3121

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Athènes

L' ALTERITE A BYZANCE

(résumé)

Un des axes centraux des études des historiens au XXe s. fut l'analyse de l' identité des nations et des sociétés issues des mouvements nationaux du siècle précédent et de leurs traits dominants dans la longue durée. A la fin de notre siècle, il était plus que logique que l' on procède à la systématisation des recherches et des analyses et à la découverte et à l' affinement des méthodes pour l'étude de l'"altérité" et, surtout, dans une période où le phénomène nationaliste surgit d'une manière qui pourtant diffère de celui du XXe siècle.

Les historiens, surtout ceux qui penchent à l' étude des relations entre Byzance et le monde slave, montrent une certaine hésitation quand il s' agit d' adopter des outils déjà employés par l' anthropologie et l' ethnologie. Cette difficulté découle, entre autres, du fait que les historiens se voient souvent piégés des lectures des sources transmises à ceux par les générations précédentes.

Un sujet donc, nouveau, l' altérité exige que l'on redétermine l' objet de la recherche historique par rapport aux autres Sciences de l' Homme et de la Société et, encore, par rapport aux interprétations déjà énoncées afin que l' on puisse procéder à une nouvelle lecture des sources.

Marie Dourou-Eliopoulou
Athènes

Les “étrangers latins” en Romanie angevine pendant le règne de Charles Ier (1266-1285)

Le rapport qui sera diffusé sous ce titre portera sur la présence des “étrangers latins” et leur rôle au niveau socio-économique en Romanie angevine au cours du règne de Charles Ier. Il s’appuiera pour ce faire sur les archives de la cour angevine, qui, par leur caractère contemporain, constituent une source d’information particulièrement précieuse sur la Grèce du XIIIème siècle.

Les thèmes essentiels seront les suivants:

- ouverture de la Romanie angevine (principauté d’Achaïe, Corfou, et Albanie) aux commerçants étrangers;
- missions exercées par les commerçants étrangers en Romanie angevine pour le compte de Charles Ier ou pour leur propre compte;
- organisation de l’économie et contrôle du commerce extérieur en Romanie angevine.

Venetian officials in the Greek lands under Latin rule

The Westerners established after the Fourth Crusade in Byzantine lands constituted a distinct social group, which comprised the Catholic conquerors, viewed by the indigenous Orthodox Greeks as foreigners. To the category of the foreigners also belonged the Venetian officials, sent for a limited time to the territories under Venetian rule as representatives of the metropolis.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitude of the Venetian functionaries toward the Greek environment during the first centuries of Venetian domination in Greece. The activities of a Venetian *duca* in Crete, of a Venetian *bailo* in Cyprus and of the other officials in the Venetian Peloponnese offer interesting insights in this respect. Evidence on the relations of these officials with their mother country and with the Greek community may be gleaned from various archival sources, in particular notarial documents, which will be analyzed in this paper.

Commerce local à Byzance et en Romanie vénitienne (XIII-XV siècles).

Le problème, qui nous occupe concerne au premier chef les historiens de l'économie byzantine. Nous abordons en effet, les spécificités des liens entre les réseaux commerciaux locaux interrégionaux à Byzance et en Romanie Latine. Les dynamiques parallèles du commerce sur les marchés locaux provinciaux et du développement global de l'économie et de la société, relèvent de la même problématique. Deux solutions semblent s'imposer lorsque l'on tente de contourner l'obstacle major que constitue le manque de source. La première consiste en une réinterprétation des sources déjà longtemps connues et utilisées. La seconde est basée sur la mise en perspective des sources byzantines et italiennes dans une optique comparative. En dehors des renseignements qu'elles fournissent les sources italiennes jettent en effet un jour nouveau sur des sources byzantines dont on pourrait croire l'intérêt épuisé.

La supposition selon laquelle la société byzantine tardive ne connut pas d'essor de son économie d'échange s'appuie essentiellement sur les données fournies par Georges Gémiste Pléthon. Il convient toutefois de souligner que l'intérêt de cet «économiste» byzantin se portait sur l'institution de taxes proportionnelles aux revenus, tandis que l'idée de paiement en nature plutôt qu'en espèces ne semblent pas entrer nettement dans son raisonnement.

Une autre idée reçue concerne le «contrôle» des marchés locaux par les monastères et l'entrave que celui-ci constitue au développement du commerce. Cette hypothèse se fonde sur l'interprétation des documents mentionnant un paiement aux monastères pour une *πανήγυρις*, comme l'acquittement d'une taxe pour la commercialisation («foire»). Nous proposons d'interpréter ces versements comme une taxe à l'occasion de l'organisation, par une église, de telle ou telle fête religieuse. Dans cette optique, les marchés locaux apparaîtraient comme potentiellement plus indépendants des «féodaux».

Un autre angle d'approche concerne l'étude du groupe des *μέσοι*, auquel peuvent se rattacher les marchands byzantins «moyens» actifs à l'échelon local. Mais les sources les concernant ne reflètent que l'indifférence des *μέσοι* envers la vie politique. En aucun cas, elles ne permettent d'en faire une «classe marchande décadente».

Les sources vénitiennes mettent en lumière certaines réalités du commerce local tant sur les territoires byzantins (essentiellement Péloponnèse et Thessalonique) qu'en Romanie vénitienne où les marchands byzantins s'avèrent actifs. Parmi ceux on peut relever nombre de non-professionnels (notamment dans le Péloponnèse et à Négrepont). De même, les commerçants vénitiens étaient présents jusque sur les marchés villageois où ils traitaient aussi avec les petits commerçants. Le personnage le plus important du marché local restait, bien entendu, le petit grossiste.

Nous ne possédons aucune donnée chiffrée qui puisse éclairer quelque perspectives que se soit quant au développement de l'économie régionale. Toutefois, l'idée d'une décadence marquée par la naturalisation de l'économie et la prépondérance des «féodaux» et étrangers aux marchés locaux, ne nous semble guère rendre compte de la réalité observable.

**ГЕНУЭЗЦЫ В КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЕ И АДРИАНОПОЛЕ В СЕРЕДИНЕ XV в.
(по материалам Генуэзского государственного архива)**

Обратиться к изучению отношений Генуи с Византией и ее коммерческой активности в турецких землях на Балканах в середине XV в. нас побудили найденные в Генуэзском государственном архиве документы, которые позволяют пролить некоторый свет на развитие политических и экономических связей между турками и генуэзцами во Фракии и конкретно в Адрианополе. В то же время эти документы дают дополнительную информацию о характере византийско-генуэзских отношений в указанный период, поскольку названные находки являются петициями генуэзских купцов на императора Константинополя и его подданных. Адрианополе, неоднократно подвергалась В середине XV в. генуэзские купцы, занятые крупной торговлей в насилию и грабежу со стороны византийцев в Константинополе. Византийскую столицу они не могли миновать на пути в Адрианополь. О противоборстве между генуэзскими купцами и жителями Константинополя было хорошо известно византийскому императору, который, судя по всему, не только не препятствовал своим подданным нападать на генуэзцев и отбирать у них имущество и деньги, но и всячески негласно и неофициально поддерживал такие действия византийцев. Подобного рода происшествия стали причиной судебных разбирательств в Генуе и многократных обращений генуэзских властей к императору с требованиями возмещения ущерба пострадавшим.

Из анализа представляемых документов следует, что византийские власти препятствовали развитию генуэзской торговли во Фракии; очевидно столкновение интересов византийского и генуэзского купечества, и стремление последнего устранить или ослабить конкуренцию с генуэзцами. названные документы говорят об очень крупной генуэзской торговле в Адрианополе.

Стремясь не навредить своим отношениям с Византией, Генуя в XV в. ищет новых партнеров в торговле на Востоке. Турки все более распространяли свое господство на Балканах. Понимая неизбежность геополитических изменений в регионе, Генуя в XV в. делая ставку на новых союзников в лице турецких властей иногда в ущерб интересам Византии.

ЛАТЕНТНАЯ ТЮРКИЗАЦИЯ: ОПЫТ ВИЗАНТИЙСКОГО ПОНТА

1. Анализ всего корпуса письменного наследия эпохи царствования Великих Комнинов в Трапезунде от частноправовых актов до образчиков "высокой" литературы показал высокую значимость аттицизирующей цензуры, препятствовавшей проникновению в письменные тексты элементов разговорного языка. Вместе с тем, письменные тексты позволяют гипотетически реконструировать реальное состояние разговорного языка понтийских греков.
2. В разговорном понтийском языке XIII–XV вв. существовал широкий пласт заимствований из тюркского. Эти заимствования указывают на присутствие на Понте относительно многочисленной общины двуязычных (греко- и тюркоязычных) тюрков, повлиявших на понтийскую языковую ситуацию. Этим тюрков, подданных трапезундских государей, мы называем **тюркоязычными византийцами**. Их присутствие подтверждается и проведенным нами просопографическим анализом.
3. В результате греко-тюркского взаимодействия внутри самого византийского общества Понта происходит постепенное культурно-лингвистическое "размывание" греко-византийского цивилизационного субстрата, которое мы называем **латентной тюркизацией**. Падение Византии явилось не только и не столько следствием **военного и политического** успеха тюрков, но и подспудного и слабо отраженного в источниках процесса **внутренней** тюркизации византийского общества.

Russian studies in the topography of Constantinople.

The center of the Russian studies in the topography of Constantinople was the Russian Archeological Institute in Constantinople founded in 1894. A member of the Institute B.Pantchenko was specifically interested in the topography of Constantinople and carried out his investigations when it was possible.

In 1906-1909 B.Pantchenko studied the Studite monastery and published the paper about its reliefs. Unfortunately the large part of his materials perished during the emergency evacuation from Constantinople in 1914. The only survived paper is devoted to the gold artifact with enamel depiction of the Apostole Iacobos, dated to the end of the X-th century.

In 1909-1910 B.Pantchenko studied the location of the Byzantine Acropolis. His work resulted in a manuscript, provisionally entitled **The Description of the Antiquities Found by the Building of the Second Track of the Railway on the Territory of Constantinople in 1909-1910**. It was meant for the XVIIth volume of the Institute's Proceedings, but the volume has never appeared. A large part of the manuscript (about 300 separate pages) describes the artifacts found in the block of Eugenios. Pantchenko identifies the architectural fragments dated to V-VI centuries with the church of Our Lady. He also defines the direction of the main streets in this district.

The important data on the topography of the Great Palace could be collected due to the fire in 1912; the fire cleared the area from the modern buildings, thus allowing Pantchenko to study the remains of the ancient buildings. B.Pantchenko was going to integrate his own notes on the topography of Constantinople with the evidence of Ch.Du Cange. He planned to include in this fundamental work all results obtained during his long exploration of Constantinople.

Russian studies in the topography of Constantinople so impressed their European colleagues that the latter considered this area to be the patrimony of Russians. Only some time after the Institute was closed first European studies in the area began.

The Voyage of Laskaris Kananos to Northern Europe

A 16th-century MS. of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (hist. gr. 113) contains a short description in Byzantine Greek of Northern Europe, i.e., the Baltic area, the Scandinavian peninsula, and Iceland. The author, Laskaris Kananos, is otherwise unknown. He claims to have visited the region himself, and information given in the text indicates a date for his visit in the late 1430's. The text has evoked the interest mainly of Scandinavian scholars. A number of points in the text need to be discussed:

1. Kananos' conception of the geography of the region does not seem to be based entirely on autopsy. Some of the toponyms are given in an Italianized form, which indicates an Italian source. Kananos' conception of the Scandinavian peninsula has parallels in maps of the region from the 15th and 16th centuries.
2. The extent of Kananos' own travels is an obscure point. He states explicitly only that he sailed to Iceland from a locality which he calls Ἡνγκλήνια, that he "went back" to England and then continued his voyage to the south. But did he actually himself see the Baltic coast and the Scandinavian cities that he mentions? And if he sailed through the Baltic, was he linked in some way with the dignitaries of the Russian church — some of them with Greek background — who passed the Baltic area on their way to the synod to be held at Ferrara in 1438?
3. Some passages in the Greek text are obscure and need clarification.

The text was edited from the Vienna MS. by Spyridon P. Lambros ('Κανανὸς Λάσκαρις καὶ Βασίλειος Βατάτζης. Δύο Ἑλληνες περιηγηταὶ τοῦ ιε' καὶ ιη' αἰῶνος', *Παρνασσός* 5, 1881, 705–719) and, with a translation into Swedish, by Vilhelm Lundström (*Smärre Byzantinska skrifter. I: Laskaris Kananos' reseanteckningar från de nordiska länderna*, Upsala & Leipzig 1902). Other translations have been made into German (by Franz Grabler in *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen*, Graz 1954 (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 2), 101–105), Italian (M. E. Colonna, 'Sulla Διήγησις di Giovanni Cananos', *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 7, 1957, 151–166), Norwegian (by Tormod Eide in Tomas Hägg, 'En byzantiner besøker Bergen', in: Øivind Andersen & Tomas Hägg (edd.), *Hellas og Norge. Kontakt, komparasjon, kontrast*, Bergen 1990, 221–228), and Swedish (Jerker Blomqvist, 'En bysantinare i Norden. Om Laskaris Kananos' reseberättelse', *Hellenika* no. 50, 1989-12-01, 3–4).

DELPHES PALEOCHRETIENNE : LA VILLE ET SA CERAMIQUE

A Delphes, le Sanctuaire d'Apollon fut depuis l'Antiquité entouré d'installations urbaines. Celles-ci ont connu une extension considérable à partir de l'époque hellénistique et surtout à l'époque romaine. On remarque la construction d'édifices d'utilité publique, mais également de demeures privées.

A l'époque paléochrétienne, la ville prospère en dépit du déclin du sanctuaire et de l'interdiction de consultation de l'oracle et s'étend en gagnant du terrain même à l'intérieur de l'ancien espace sacré. Des marchands et des artisans s'installent sur les bords de l'ancienne Voie Sacrée, des maisons privées occupent la place des offrandes monumentales ou des portiques. L'existence d'au moins trois basiliques est attestée; l'emplacement de l'une d'entre elles est sujet à discussion.

Une restriction du tissu urbain se manifeste dans le dernier quart du VI^e s. Des installations artisanales prennent la place des luxueuses villas au Sud du sanctuaire, mais la vie continue jusqu'aux premières décennies du VII^e s., époque où la ville est définitivement abandonnée.

La recherche archéologique s'est focalisée ces dernières années sur deux monuments de l'époque paléochrétienne dont l'un, l'Agora Romaine, est de caractère public et l'autre, la Villa Sud-Est, privé. La céramique découverte dans ces deux monuments offre une image assez cohérente, aussi bien des importations effectuées entre le III^e et le VII^e s., que de la production locale et plus précisément de sa dernière phase de la fin du VI^e et du début du VII^e s. En ce qui concerne la céramique importée, les sources d'approvisionnement principales sont l'Afrique du Nord et l'Attique et très probablement aussi Thèbes de Phthiotide (N. Anchialos). Delphes s'inscrit ainsi dans le faciès régional des villes du Sud de la Grèce qui diffère de celui de Constantinople, des villes du Nord de la Grèce et des îles où les produits micrasiatiques prédominent. Quant à la production locale, sa présence est assurée par la fréquence constante de certaines formes et par la découverte de fours de potiers, de ratés de cuisson, de moules et de cales de cuisson.

Die Stadt Kos in der Spätantike

Die Insel Kos liegt im SO. Ägäischen Meer; die antike Stadt lag an der NO. Küste der Insel, wo sich auch die moderne Stadt entwickelt hat. Die umfangreichen Ausgrabungen in der Stadt Kos haben am Anfang des 20. Jhs. von deutschen und italienischen Archäologen begonnen und wurden später vom Griechischen Archäologischen Dienst fortgesetzt. So können wir, nach einem Jahrhundert von Ausgrabungen, von der Form und Ausrichtung der antiken Stadt sprechen, obwohl die jüngeren Ausgrabungen immer noch neues archäologisches Material hinzufügen.

Die antike Stadt wurde schon in der prähistorischen Zeit besiedelt; ihre Blütezeit hat jedoch nach dem im Jahre 366 v.Chr. abgeschlossenen Synoikismos begonnen und bis am Anfang des 6. Jhs. gedauert, obwohl sie im 7. Jh. n.Chr. immer noch existierte. Die Stadt behielt auch in der Spätantike das für das hellenistische Kos charakteristische hippodamische Strassennetz, wie auch ihren Grundplan, der sich nicht wesentlich geändert hatte. Beweise dafür liefern die Fundkomplexe öffentlicher Gebäude und reicher Privathäuser. Obwohl sie meistens nur teilweise ausgegraben worden sind, lassen diese Gebäude verschiedene Bauphasen erkennen, die etwa vom 2. bis ins 7. Jh. n.Chr. reichen. Die Stadt war mit Tempeln (Dionysos, Herakles, Aphrodite, Demeter etc.) und grossen öffentlichen Gebäuden ausgestattet (Agora, Stadion, Gymnasion, Palaistra, vier Badeanlagen, Theater, Odeion etc.). Die meisten waren schon in hellenistischer Zeit konstruiert und in der römischen Periode umgebaut oder restauriert worden, einige aber, wie z.B. die römische Basilika auf der Akropolis, das Odeion und die Badeanlagen wurden erst in römischer Zeit gebaut (3. Jh. n.Chr.).

Die Privathäuser des 3. bis 5. Jhs. zeigen, dass die Stadt immer noch sehr reich war. Sie waren mit Skulpturen geschmückt, ihre Fussböden mit Marmoreinlegearbeiten und Mosaik verziert, die in sehr gutem Zustand erhalten sind und Darstellungen heidnischen wie auch christlichen Charakters zeigen (Entführung der Europa, Büste einer Personifizierung der Stadt Kos, oder auch die für die frühchristliche Zeit übliche Verzierung aus sich berührenden Kreisen, in die Vögel und andere Tiere inkorporiert sind). In der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh. beginnt der Bau der christlichen Basiliken, von denen vier ausgegraben sind, und die Stadt nimmt einen christlichen Charakter an.

Die antike Stadt hat wiederholt unter Erdbeben gelitten. Das letzte starke Erdbeben (554 n.Chr.) hat, nach der Beschreibung von Agathias, die Stadt völlig zerstört; deshalb hatten die ersten Ausgräber angenommen, dass im Jahre 554 die Stadt zu bestehen aufhörte. Die zahlreichen jüngeren Rettungsgrabungen haben aber gezeigt, dass das Leben im ganzen Verlauf des 6. und in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. weiterging und höchstwahrscheinlich erst durch den Einfall der Araber im Jahre 654 n.Chr. beendet wurde. In den letzten hundert Jahren ihrer Existenz (554-654 n.Chr.) ist jedoch eine Verarmung der Stadt deutlich. Einige der reichen Gebäude wurden im 6. und besonders im 7. Jh. durch unsorgfältig errichtete Mauern in kleinere unterteilt. Die Stadt schrumpfte und grosse Teile ihrer vorherigen Fläche verödeten.

Die Geschichte der Stadt zwischen dem 7. und dem 13. Jh. bleibt uns jedoch weiterhin unbekannt. Noch gibt es keine Fundzeugnisse, aber höchstwahrscheinlich verringerte die Stadt ihren Umfang weiter und die wenigen Einwohner versammelten sich in der Nähe des Kastells, wo im 14. Jh. die Stadt der Johanniterritter lag.

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Slavic Settlements in Grevena, Greece (SW Macedonia)

The region of Grevena has throughout its history been a frontier zone marked by invasions and migrations. Comprised of the modern *nomos* of Grevena, the region has natural barriers, most notably the Pindus mountains which separate Grevena from Epirus. Other natural geographical barriers contribute to its relative isolation from the rest of Macedonia. Today, as in antiquity, the region is somewhat remote, off the major roads through central and northern Greece. In antiquity the region did not participate fully in the economy of Greece's coastal towns. In Late Roman times, this isolation may have been increased. Certainly the archeological record indicates a shift to fortified and less accessible settlements, a shift that may be associated with the invasion of Greece by Alaric (*XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Moscow. Summaries of Communications*, II, p. 964). One of the most impressive of these Late Roman sites is Spilio (*Twentieth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, p. 23). By the end of Justinian's reign, the region was probably something of an economic and cultural backwater, a fact that may have made it attractive to the Slavs.

Slavic placenames are found all over the region, except in the high mountains. Even the major rivers have Slavic names, for example the Vistritsa, now called the Haliakmon, and the Pramoritza. As Oliver Rackham of the Grevena Project has shown, perhaps half of the present names of villages in Grevena can be seen as derived from Slavic names. The work of ethnoarcheologists associated with the project has provided a model for how acculturation to Byzantium by the Slavs could have been facilitated by the pastoralism of the region. The model for this is the seasonal transhumance which has long distinguished this region from the rest of Greece. Some of the highest villages in Greece are in the western part of the region, including Perivoli, Smixi and Samarina, villages well known for their large flocks of sheep and Vlach shepherds. Using the model of recent historical pastoralism, the region can be seen as a fluid frontier zone, one that could have served as a bridge for cultural interaction between Slavs and a native Greek population. Until Byzantine hegemony was reestablished, the region can also be seen as a more sharply defined boundary between civilized *oikoumene* and the world of primitive Slavs (*Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, pp. 47-48).

Which model does the archeological record of this region during the Early Middle Ages seem to prefer? For this, we must turn to the results of the Grevena Project, an interdisciplinary survey conducted with the cooperation of the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Larisa, the first extensive archeological survey of the region.

The surface pottery, collected from over 350 newly discovered sites, is helpful in establishing basic changes in settlement patterns. First of all, there is the distinct discontinuity between the wider variety of pottery found on Late Roman sites as opposed to the single type of pottery found on the more than forty Early Medieval sites, namely small coarseware jars of local manufacture, without handles or lids, decorated with incised wavy bands. Some Early Medieval sites also produced jar fragments decorated with the earliest type of Byzantine glaze. In Istanbul, such glazed wares begin in the seventh century, although in Grevena they might have arrived later. There is also discontinuity represented in the locations of Early Medieval sites, as compared to Late Roman sites. On many Late Roman sites, occupation appears to have ceased by the Early Middle Ages, whereas a significant fraction of Early Medieval sites are single-period sites. Moreover, Late Roman sites are grouped more centrally in the region, but Early Medieval sites are spread throughout the region, though not generally at higher elevations. All of this suggests that the Early Medieval sites must represent discontinuity from Late Roman times, and are the counterpart of the extensive Slavic placenames in the region.

Excavations at Pseira.
An early Byzantine rural monastery

Pseira is a small island located about two kilometers off the northeastern coast of Crete, in the Gulf of Mirabello. Systematic archaeological research at Pseira (1985 - 1995), undertaken under the joint direction of Prof. Philip Betancourt and Prof. Costis Davaras, has assembled and documented data of human activity from two historical periods: the Minoan Bronze age of Greece and the Byzantine period.

Byzantine remains on Pseira include a monastery erected in the southeastern peninsula of the islet, in the centre of the ruined Minoan town. The monastery occupies an area of ca. 280 m² and has the form of a compact architectural complex (single-aisled church with narthex flanked by cells, storage rooms, refectory, cistern). Small monastic foundations with a similar conceptual architectural lay-out have been excavated on Aegean islands, in Palestine and in the Sinai peninsula.

The small scale and the architectural characteristics of the building complex on Pseira, the finds, as well as the archaeological evidence from farms on the Pseiran hill-sides indicate that this rural monastic foundation was settled by a small monastic community. Through the small, sheltered harbor of the peninsula facing the near-by Cretan coast, the Pseiran monastery was open to contacts with Crete, a cross-roads of important sea routes.

By studying the architecture, building sequence and pottery (pottery specialist: Dr. Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou) of the monastery on Pseira, its main phases can be dated to between the beginning of the 7th and the beginning of the 9th century. The abandonment of the Pseiran monastery was probably related to the incursions of the Arab fleet in the Aegean islands and the Arab conquest of Crete (824 - 827/8). Moreover pottery finds, dated to the 10th-11th century, suggest a partial re-use of the building in the middle Byzantine period as well.

Viranşehir (Mokisos), eine frühbyzantinische Stadt in Kappadokien

Die frühbyzantinische Ruinenstadt Viranşehir am Fuß des Hasan Dağı ca. 30 km südlich von Aksaray in Inneranatolien ist von uns 1994–1996 in drei Kampagnen untersucht worden. Es handelt sich dabei um eine versteckt in einem Hochtal gelegene, nicht ummauerte, aber durch eine Akropolis geschützte große Fluchtsiedlung mit ca. 1000 Häusern. Sie steht auf einer älteren römischen Nekropole, von der zwischen den Häusern eine größere Anzahl Grabtumuli erhalten ist. Eine systematische Planung ist nicht erkennbar, öffentliche Repräsentationsbauten und ein Wasserversorgungssystem fehlen. Die Häuser, von denen ein Teil bis auf die Dächer erhalten ist, sind aus grobem Bruchstein gebaut und weisen nur selten mehrere Bauphasen auf. Die Stadt läßt sich nach den Formen der erhaltenen Kirchenreste in das 6. Jh. datieren. Zur Zeit der persischen und arabischen Angriffe scheint sie weitgehend aufgegeben worden zu sein; eindeutig mittelbyzantinische Bauten gibt es in ihr nicht, wohl aber im umgebenden Bergland.

Die Untersuchung der Kirchen von Viranşehir hat zu verschiedenen vom bisherigen Kenntnisstand abweichenden Ergebnissen geführt und das Bild der frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens in einigen Punkten korrigiert.

Die zuerst von E. Honigmann 1935 vertretene, bis heute gelegentlich bezweifelte Identifizierung von Viranşehir mit dem unter Justinian I. neugegründeten Mokisos stimmt gut mit dem Befund am Ort überein, ist aber aus Mangel an Inschriften bisher nicht definitiv zu beweisen.

Ergebnisse der Grabungen an der Nikolaoskirche in Myra

Seit 1989 werden Grabungsarbeiten an der Nikolaoskirche in Myra durchgeführt. Im Laufe der 6 Kampagnen wurde im nordöstlichen Bereich der Kirche ein 27.55 m nach Osten vorgestreckter laengsrechteckiger Annex ausgegraben, der sich aus drei aneinandergfügten Bauten zusammensetzt; diese sind von W nach O hin, der gegen den NO-Eckraum der Kirche gesetzte quadratische Kalottenbau und zwei rechteckige Bauten, die im Obergeschoss jeweils zwei mit einem Durchgang verbundene, annaehernnd quadratische Raeume aufweisen. Dieser Annex ist im N durch offene Arkadenjoche begrenzt; im O erreicht man mit einer fünfstufigen Treppe, welche seitlich von wiederverwendeten Baenken des Stadions flankiert wird, ein 1.25 m hohes Podium. Teilweise freigelegt wurde ein weiterer Bau an der N-Seite der Kirche. Der zweigeschossige nach N laengsrechteckige Bau liegt mit der 15.20 m langen S-Mauer der Kirche parallel. Im Obergeschoss befinden sich zwei Wohnraeume, deren Boden mit Steinplatten regelmaessig belegt sind.

Bemerkenswert bei dem NO-Annex ist die Placierung des Kalottenbaues; er ist an die N-Fassade der Hauptapsis angesetzt und durch eine rundböige Tür im W mit dem liturgisch wichtigen NO-Eckraum der Kuppelbasilika verbunden. Er ist ebenfalls durch seine architektonischen Merkmale und seine Ausschmückung hervorgehoben. Die zu der antiken Stadt Myra ausgerichtete N-Arkade unterstreicht mit ihrer Schaufassadencharakter die Bedeutung der NO-Anbauten.

In diesem Bericht soll der Versuch unternommen werden, mit Hilfe der neuen archaeologischen Befunde und anhand der Kleinfunde, u.a. Münzen, Keramik, Glas, Bauplastik die Bauphasen der Kirche zu diskutieren und den NO-Annex sowie den N-Bau zu bewerten. Dabei soll die Frage nach der Funktion der neuen Bauten mit den vorlaeufigen Ergebnissen angeschnitten werden.

On the Coptic Bronze Lamps of V - VI cc.

As it is well known, the Egyptian art of V-VI cc. is a complicated and remarkable phenomenon, that is not to be described as the COPTIC ART, for it includes the refined art of Alexandria, the art of Greek settlement and, finally, the art with distinctive local features. All that is to be taken into account, when studying minor art objects, such as early medieval lamps. Most of the finds are from the former Greek settlement, as it turned out. Various moulds for clay and bronze objects, including the ones for lamps found at the ware house in Memphis, prove to the fact that Greek-type and Egyptian-type objects co-existed in the assortment of the workshops. Similar practices are to be found in sculpture workshops, where sarcophagi with Christian, pagan and Hebrew subjects used to be made.

It is clearly to find in the clay lamps the imitation of the local tradition in their forms and decoration than in bronze ones.

On top of that, according to archaeological data, the manufacturing of lamps was not meant for one-type-product workshops, they were made in average workshops intended for broad clientele.

At the Byzantine period the workshops, where Roman-type lamps had been made, adjust their products to the Christian tradition, which is not unnatural.

The Coptic lamps of this type are in the tradition of the single Hellenistic culture, and are samples for the multiple similar objects from Constantinople, Syria, Italy, that is of the Hellenistic compass.

Allegedly, most of the clients, who bought the bronze lamps were Greeks, while the vivid Egyptian-type ceramic lamps are the evidence of their belonging to the local culture.

**THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE BYZANTINE ECCLESIASTICAL COMPLEX
AT PETRA, JORDAN**

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The importance of Petra in southern Jordan, as one of the major archaeological sites in the Near East, needs no further elaboration. However, the archaeological exploration of Petra is still largely inadequate to evaluate the culture history of that ancient city, especially in the later periods. Until now, the monuments which attracted the attention of scholars were predominantly of the Nabataean and Roman periods. As such the Petra Church Project, launched by the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR) in early 1990ies is of considerable importance since its results expand the knowledge about the city into the Byzantine - Early Islamic periods.

The 1992-94 archaeological excavations have uncovered the remains of a Byzantine ecclesiastical complex, which included the basilica, the atrium, and the adjacent rooms, one of which was possibly a baptistry. The church, which was founded around the mid-5th century A.D., was lavishly decorated with floor and wall mosaics, and marble furnishing. Several phases of remodelling and renovation have been noted. Toward the end of the 6th century, the church suffered a destruction by fire, after which the complex was ecclesiastically abandoned. The non-ecclesiastical occupation in the atrium had continued into the 7th century until an earthquake effectively ended the history of the site.

The excavations have provided a plethora of information concerning the material culture of the Byzantine period in Petra. To the outstanding finds belong the well preserved mosaics, elements of marble furnishing and decoration, a variety of metal fittings and door installations, rich numismatic finds, and great quantities of ceramics. In 1993, an archive of carbonized papyrus scrolls has been uncovered in one of the rooms adjacent to the church.

The Carbonized Papyri from the Early Byzantine Church of Petra

The carbonized fragments of the Petra papyrus rolls were found in the ruins of the early Byzantine church in the middle of the city by the archaeologist Zbigniew T. Fiema during the excavations of The American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR) in December 1993. Conservation work on the fragments of papyrus rolls was completed in May 1995 by a team from Finland and the publication, undertaken jointly by the University of Helsinki and University of Michigan, under the leadership of myself and Prof. Ludwig Koenen respectively, began immediately.

All 152 rolls, some written on both sides, contain documentary texts written in Greek. In most cases, the outer layers of the rolls were destroyed, but the internal part, containing sometimes the beginning of the document, were better preserved. From all the material that has been opened and conserved about 23 rolls will yield continuous text segments and about another 20 rolls will provide us with fragments of substantial information.

The documents are especially important because they belong to the sixth century, a period which is otherwise almost a blank page in the history of Petra. Our scenario of the decline of the site has been based on some scattered pieces of information, on two major earthquakes and on a series of arguments *ex silentio*. Already the excavations of the church with splendid mosaics and valuable imported constructing material showed the need of reinterpretation of the few facts. Furthermore, the texts of the charred archive provide dates for an absolute chronology and valuable information on the active and manifold rich social and economic life of the city and its agricultural surrounding. This information should allow for a substantial re-assessment of the history of Petra and southern Jordan in the Byzantine period after the earthquake on 19 May 363. Nothing of the supposed slide of decline and diminishment can be traced in our archive, and nothing of the still more devastating earthquake on 9 July 551 which has been supposed to have caused the final destruction of the city.

The texts are economic documents dealing with possessions, dispositions and acquisitions of real estate and other type of property, immovable, movable and self moving. There are contracts, agreements and settlements of disputes concerning loans, sales, divisions of property, cessions, registrations, marriages and inheritance. The various handwritings used by the scribes are almost identical with those found in Egypt, but the phraseology of the documents is somewhat different. Especially, Latin loan words were used more often and differently in the Middle East than in Egypt, and in one roll, a will, there is a protokollon, containing at least two lines of Latin script.

The texts cover a period of more than 50 years between A.D. 528 and 582 or later, i.e., during the reign of the Emperor Justinian and his successors. Many of the documents refer to Petra as *Augustocolonia Antoniana Hadriana Metropolis of the Province Palaestina Tertia Salutaris*. Names of other settlements, such as e.g. Augustopolis (identified with Udruh), Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin), Zadakathon (Sadaqa) are mentioned, together with numerous other places around Petra. Churches and other buildings are also mentioned, e.g., the Chapel of the Saint and Glorious Martyr Kyrikos in Zadakathon, the Church of the Saint and Glorious Martyr Theodoros in Augustopolis, the Church of our All-Holy Mistress the Glorious God-bearing (N.B.) Ever Virgin Mary in Petra, the Hostel or Hospital of the Saint and Gloriously Triumphant Martyr Kyrikos in Petra, and the Church of Our Lord the Saint High-Priest Aaron. The latter may refer to the remains at Jebel Haroun near Petra where, according to tradition, Aaron was buried.

Among the key figures are men of ecclesiastic, civilian, and military administrative ranks who bear typical Byzantine honorific titles. Almost every man bears the status-name of the upper class, *Flavius*. Once, and for the first time in the documents written according to the Roman law, we find also a woman, named Kyra, signing a marriage contract in her own hand, although her father seems to have been available as a *kyrios*. Some slaves have been identified, not only as property, but also as farmers.

One text concerns a question of water rights at a spring in Zadakathon, as well as other disputes. That document contains the name of *Abu Karib ibn Jabala* (Abu Cherebos), known from other sources. The historian Procopius mentioned that Abu Karib, the Ghassanid, had ceded some tribal areas to the Emperor Justinian and was appointed by him as a phylarch of the local Arab *foederati* around 528/29. The date is fragmentary in the document, but sufficiently preserved to indicate that the document was written after Justinian's Novella 47 (A.D. 537) which ordered the mention of the Emperor's regnal year at the beginning of dating formulae.

NUFARU (DÉPARTEMENT DE TULCEA)-CITÉ BYZANTINE
FORTIFIÉE, AU BAS-DANUBE (X^e- XIII^e SIÈCLES)

La commune de Nufaru, nommée dans les temps anciens Prislava, située sur le bras St. George du Danube, à 12 Km en aval de la ville de Tulcea, superpose une importante cité byzantine. Les recherches archéologiques démarrées en 1978 et déployées presque sans interruption jusqu'au présent, ont dévoilé une cité protégée par un système complexe de fortifications construites en plusieurs étapes: les murs hautes de 4-5 m et d'une épaisseur de 2.40-2.90 m, défendent un habitat concentré sur un plateau situé au centre de la commune et qui descend vers les bords du Danube.

La première enceinte remonte au fin du X^e siècle; pendant le XI^e siècle, la cité connaîtra le plus grand développement, fait confirmé par la grande surface occupée, mais aussi par la diversité et le grand nombre de découvertes archéologiques. Parmi les métiers pratiqués, nous signalons la poterie - deux fours pour la fabrication des pots, un four plein de 15 cruches de différents types et dimensions et des fragments d'amphores recouvertes par émail vert, qui ont été découvertes seulement dans ce lieu. L'existence des creuzets, moules ou résidus, plaident pour une production locale d'objets de parure.

De nombreux objets de culte, croix simples ou reliquaires prouvent l'existence d'une population chrétienne, mais elles ne nous permettent pas la localisation de Vicina à Nufaru, comme l'historien bulgare Atanasov a récemment affirmé. A ces preuves, on ajoute encore quelques découvertes d'ambre - des petites croix, un médaillon avec un saint militaire - qui ont un caractère unique pour Dobroudja. Les découvertes numismatiques - plus de 1500 monnaies des X^e- XIII^e siècles, confirment que Nufaru est l'une des plus importantes cités sur le limes danubien: Pacuiu lui Soare-Vicina? (1100 exemplaires), Dinogetia- Garvan (approx. 1000 exemplaires).

Le développement extraordinaire de la cité est confirmé aussi par les quatre nécropoles investiguées jusqu'au présent. Après l'invasion des Pétchénegues et Coumans à la fin du XI^e siècle, la cité se restreindre et continuera sa existence jusqu'au XIII^e siècle, quand elle sera détruite par les attaques des Mongols en 1242.

BEDEUTUNG DER AUSGRABUNGEN IN CHERSONESOS FÜR BYZANZARCHAOLOGIE

Im Unterschied zu dem grössten Teil der Byzanzstädte, deren Erforschung wegen Vorhandenseins der Besiedlungskontinuität mit der Suche nach mehr imposanten Denkmälern der Antike begann, erweckte Chersonos-Cherson anfänglich das Interesse der russischen Wissenschaft als ein christliches Zentrum und erst Ende des XIX. Jh-s richtete man einen aufmerksamen Blick auf die antiken Bauten und Funde dieses Zentrums. Dieser Umstand und das Vorhandensein eines in der Neuzeit nicht mit Gebäuden bedeckten Geländes führte im Laufe der Aufgrabungen zur Überwindung einer Reihe sowohl subjektiver als auch objektiver Faktoren (Wahl der Ausgrabungsobjekte, eine im Vergleich zu den antiken Schichten schlechtere Fixierung der mittelalterlichen Ebenen, Fehlen der Zusammenhänge zwischen öffentlichen Gebäuden und Gehöften usw).

Ausserdem besteht in Chersonesos eine Möglichkeit, in grossem Ausmasse Planausgrabungen durchzuführen. Zur Zeit sind hier etwa zwei Dutzende Viertel entdeckt, die in verschiedenen Bezirken des Städtchens liegen.

Die erworbenen Daten und Vorstellungen von der mittelalterlichen Stratiographie zeugen davon, dass wie auch für die antiken Zentren die Formierung einer Kulturschicht durch drei Gründe bedingt: Bau der Gebäude, normale alltägliche Lebenstätigkeit und Zerstörung der Denkmäler. Dabei wurden die am besten ausgeprägten Schichten mit statistisch reichem Material als Ergebnis ausserordentlicher Ursachen und Wirkungen (Zerstörungen, Brände) abgelagert. Dieser Umstand ruft die Notwendigkeit hervor, die Schlussfolgerungen zu korrigieren, die den Forschern eigen sind, die zu den Angaben der Byzanzarchäologie für Analyse der Besonderheiten der Gesellschaftsentwicklung in der Periode zwischen den VII. - IX. en Jh-en greifen. Das Wesen dieser Schlüsse besteht darin, dass die kleine Fundanzahl, das Nichtvorhandensein scharf ausgeprägter Kulturablagerungen für eine beliebige Zeitperiode ein Zeichen der Stagnation, der Krisenentwicklung und noch mehr - einer Unterbrechung in der Entfaltung der Ansiedlungsstruktur ist.

Weniger zahlreiche schriftliche Quellen betrefflich der Geschichte Chersons im Zusammenhang mit den erhaltenen Angaben über längliches Funktionieren von einer Reihe der öffentlichen Bauten (Verteidigungsmauern, Basiliken für die Zeitperiode der "dunklen Jahrhunderte")

und auch das Fehlen der Zerstörungsschichten und folglich einer beträchtlichen Anzahl der Funde lassen aber dennoch den Schluss auf eine normale Lebenstätigkeit in den VII. - IX. Jh-en zu.

Die Aufdeckung der Zerstörungsschichten, die auf das Ende des VI. Jh-s - den Anfang des VII. Jh-s, die Mitte des VII. Jh-s, erste Hälfte des IX. Jh-s, das XI. Jh-s datiert werden können und der beiden Brandschichten der spätbyzantinischen Zeitperiode (des XIII. Jh-s und des XIV. Jh-s) bezeugen einen langen Münzenumlauf, was bei der Zusammensetzung statischer Tabellen des numismatischen Materials besonders wichtig ist. In der Regel wird in solchen Aufstellungstabellen der archaologische Kontext übersehen, in Betracht nicht gezogen.

Die zusammenliegenden Funde werden in Jahrhunderte abhängig der Zeit ihrer Prägung aufgeteilt. Die Geldmarktlage, das Niveau der Waren-Geld-Verhältnisse spiegelt mehr oder weniger vollständig das numismatische Material der geschlossenen Komplexe wider, in denen die chronologische Zerstreuung etwa 2-3 Jahrhunderte beträgt.

Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Chersonesos können zur Ausarbeitung von Fragen betrefflich der Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der gegebenen Ausgrabungen vor allem hinsichtlich der Representation der Kulturschicht beitragen. Seinerseits gestattet es ein neues Herangehen an die Taktik und Strategie der Byzanzarchäologie anzudeuten, sich von dem Stadium einer Embrionalentwicklung loszureissen (E.Kislinger) und von der Illustrationsmethode bei Auswertung reissen der archäologischen Quellen abzuweichen.

The settlement of Zolotoe Vostochnoe v bukhte in the East Crimea (the Kerch Peninsula)

Of the Early Byzantium settlements excavated by the East Crimea Mission of the Moscow Institute of Archaeology during last decade that of Zolotoe Vostochnoe v bukhte is one of the most interest. The settlement in question is located 5 km to the East from the modern village of Zolotoe on the Azov Sea coast of the Kerch Peninsula. In 1895 its necropolis was excavated by A.A. Dirin, who also made first notes on the site proper, first small-scaled works on which were carried out by I.T. Kruglikova in 1955. In that year two chambers of a house situated on the edge of a small bay coast line were uncovered. On the ground of amphora and red slip ware fragments found she dated the house as well as the whole settlement to the III-IV cc. A.D., the settlement area being limited to a small ground by the coast line.

Our preliminary survey and following excavations showed that I.T. Kruglikova was wrong in both those aspects.

Structure's remains and sherds were revealed on the territory more wide then that our predicesor supposed it to be.

As to the chronology, vessel's fragments obtained in the course of Kruglikova's trench cleaning as well as those collected on the surface and found in sondages made us doubt the date stated. The main material, on which our chronology is based, comes from the excavations of a kurgan-like hill situated at the south end of the cape limiting the settlement from the East. In the trench opened on that hill east slope and extended later there were uncovered a socle part of a massive tower and two dwelling structures adjoining the latter from the East. Proceeding from the analysis of the stratigraphy made on the base of the amphoras and red slip ware studing the following chronological scheme was drown up: 1) the early 2nd quarter of the VI c. A.D. - the tower and both dwelling structures were built (the first building period); 2) the 2nd quarter of the VI c. A.D. - dwelling structures reconstruction after a fire (the second building period); 3) the late 2nd quarter of the VI c. A.D. - the dwelling structures were completely destroyed, while the tower was damaged; 4) the late 2nd - early 3rd quarters of the VI c. A.D. - tower reconstruction, new planning of the area around (the third building period); 5) the late 3rd quarter VI c. A.D. - complete destruction of the tower.

Thus the VI c. A.D. we belive to be a period of this settlement existence.

The models of the organization of potter's craft in Early Byzantine period in Northern Black Sea coast.

Study of craft manufacture is one of the most popular direction in modern science. The main sources on these problem are the remains of the potter's workshops and their materials.

The development of the technical and heating engineering in Middle Ages lived through four stages. And 2 of them related to the period under consideration. These stages were connected with the coming into being a new society and corresponding to it the models of craft.

1. V- VII cc. This stage was closely connected completely with the antique culture of engineering. This is the best moment of its development but with own features.

2. VIII - IX cc. Sharp shift of former traditions, connected with a new cultural situation and change of a structure of the population.

The essential difference of medieval potter's kiln consists of their sizes (Panticapeum, Phanagoria). The potters of Early Byzantine period worked at the traditional places of manufacture, Keramics of ancient cities. But large settlements of the workshops existed out of the sites (workshop near modern site Ilyitch). This last which placed between two early byzantine fortresses served not only the population of those places but the agricultural population of region. Such centres become a new model of the interrelation between producer and consumer of the pottery production.

In VIII-IX cc. in the eastern part of the Crimea were allocated political and economical centres which were under strong influence of Byzantine Empire or directly entered in the border of this one. Chersones was main of them. This was a new stage in the history of medieval craft. A construction of the potter's kiln, the sizes of the workshops and conditions of their allocation were new for Black Sea coast.

The main features of the second stage are :

1. The workshops were located, as a rule, outside of urban place or site. They were grouped along beams rivers and small streams.
2. Significant sizes of those workshops. The kilns were located by groups from two up to fourty. This is the evidence of capacity of their production.
3. One new type of potter's kilns in different variants dominated everywhere.
4. Production of workshops were amphoras, tiles, small-sized vessels which sometimes fired in the same kiln as an additional production.

Amplifying of Christianity already in the previous period has called rough construction of churches, monasteries with their branched economy. It stimulated the development of pottery manufacture. We know about 20 kilns of the first stage and about 200 for the

second one. Especially tile production was increased and the main customer of it were the churches and monasteries.

At that time the first stamps on the tiles appeared. There were known few stamps for this stage. They were typical for the developed Middle Ages. The beginning of the stamping of pottery's production is closely connected with the high level of craft organisation and the change of status of foreman in the society.

A considerable member of workers should be employed in such workshops: in stockpiling of source materials, fuel, forming of the wares and realization of the output. Those workshops were able to exist into the frame of organization which could combine efforts and fulfilled all functions.

Side by side with large workshops small ones were in this region. They were equipped with the same type of the kilns, but sometimes they were smaller in their capacity. A form of petty production was the most survival into the frame of ancient society. Exactly it was a repository of ancient traditions, but also of the new technological achievements of its time. Small workshops filled up the free places in the production system in Middle Ages.

Study of potter's kilns and their production in frame works of whole Middle Ages shows, that each two or three centuries occurred radical changes, such rates of changes testify about dynamic development of craft. The level of the development of medieval society and its requirement to the craft were determined with the rate of the development. According to the heating engineering an evolution of pottery craft was progressive. It was connected to the development of new kilns construction, new materials, that conducted to an increase volume of produced ceramics.

Pottery deposits of Genoese Caffa (stratigraphy and chronology).

The aim of this report is to work out a chronology of levels of genoese Caffa (XIV-XV A.D.). The results of archeological excavations give an opportunity to distinguish 4 phases corresponding to stratigraphy.

The first one corresponds with the period before the construction of citadel that is to say before 1340-1352 A.D. The second phase is dated from 1352 A.D. to 80's of the XIV century, the third one from 80's of the XIV century to 50's of the XV century, the fourth one from 50's of the XV century to 1475 A.D.

The well-dated pottery deposit dates back to 60- 80's of the XIV century was revealed in the pit 2. The groups of pottery are as follows:

1. Bowls adorned by monograms on the bottom. The plates from Sudak, dated back to 80 s of XIV century by coins are similar. A higher chronological limit of these plates is the third quarter of XV century. (Deposits of fortress Mangup and Phoua in the Crimea) (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 1, 1, 2)

2. Bowls covered by engobe underglazing painting (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 1, 3)

3. Glazed pottery orned by sgraffito ornaments (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 2, 2).

4. Glazed byzantine pottery representing birds and geometric figures (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 2, 1, fig. 3, 1). The plates from Phessaloniki published by Bakirtzis are similar (Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis, 1991, fig. 19, p. 434; Vavyloupoulu-Charitonidou, 1989, fig. 2, 5, pp. 214, 221)

5. "Sgraffito wares" (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 2, 2).

6. The fragments of lustrous ware so called "Pula group" (Valencia). This group dates back to A.D. 1330-1380 ("short chronology") or A.D. 1330-1420 ("long chronology") (Sazanov, Maschenko 1994, fig. 3, 2, 3) (Blake 1986, p. 375, pl. 13, 25, pl. 3, 14; Berti, Tongiorgi, 1986).

The other finds of the pit deposit were bottom of wine glass, chess man, fragments of ballance and cast iron shot.

The pottery kiln for glazed pottery production was discovered in the level of this phase too.

It's possible to roughly follow the dynamics of the construction of the citadel in the area near the tower "Crisko". The first radical change, connected with the destruction of the buildings in the fire, dates back to the 80 's of the XIV century. So these destructions might be connected with war between Kaffa and Solchat. However the changes in the lay-out of the area, which they led to were only partial.

The third phase is marked with the replacement of ceramic workshop by the water-supplying system, also the traces of bronze casting production are visible. In the course of this period reconstruction of the water-supplying system is taking place.

However the radical changes in the lay-out of the area take place in 50's of the XV century. Water drains and production complexes disappear, where cemetery and water reservoir take their place. The capture of the city by the Turks didn't leave in the area any traces of large fires and destructions.

The analysis of all the ceramics, found in the levels of the 80's of the XIV century, allowed to distinguish four original groups: Golden Hordian (predominant group), west - european, byzantine and iranian (those are minor).

Phase	Chronology	coins	objects
1	before 1340-1352 A.D.		Level before the construction of citadel. There are no rests of buildings.
2	50-80's of XIV century	Djanibek 1342-1352 A.D. with over stamping 80's of XIV century; Gales-Muhammed A.D. 1340 with symbol of Batu of the first half of XIV century.	Household complex. Building 1. Production complex (pottery kiln N 10).
3	80's of XIV - 50's of XV century.	Aspr of Visconti 1421- 1435 A.D.; Pul of Tver principality of the first half of XV century	Bronze casting workshop. Second etape of building 1. Building 2. Water-drains NN 11 - 13.
4	50's of XV- 1475 A. D.	Folleri of Trimaldini A.D. 1453	Water reservoir. Pavement 15a. Pit 15. Burials 1-3

Table 1. The chronology of genoese rests of building constructions.

Excavations near "Crisko" tower in 1975-1977. Information from archeological accounts of 1975-1977.

Meryem Acara

POTTERY FROM ST.NICHOLAS CHURCH IN MYRA

4133

Ancient Myra (modern Demre or Kale) in Lycia regionis located to the west of Antalya. Archaeological excavations have been conducted here since 1989 led by Prof.Dr.Yıldız Ötüken (Hacettepe University, Ankara) in the St.Nicholas Church located in the town.

During the excavations in the northern annex buildings, "Late Roman Pottery" and "Anatolian type lamps" belonging to the earlier period and glazed and unglazed pottery from the Middle Byzantine period were found within the lower stratum.

In the most densely discovered group of the Byzantine pottery, eight different clays were identified. The glazed pottery forms are;bowls, plates, small jugs, cooking pots, small jars, vases and lamps, and unglazed pottery forms are; cups, glasses, bowls, small jugs, cooking pots, jars, amphorae, bottles and unguentariums.

Wave, vertical and inclined lines, spirals and floral motifs are seen on the glazed pottery which are decorated by sgraffito, champlévé and slip techniques. Unglazed pottery is mostly grooved, but wave and knot motifs were done by incised technique.

Similar forms, decoration techniques, and motifs were found in Cyprus and Greece besides İstanbul and Anatolia. Among all these finds, imported pottery were also found. Besides these similar examples, the pottery were evaluated with minor objects, like coins and glasses which were found in the excavations and all of them generally dated to the 11 th-12 th centuries.

BRACELETS EN VERRE BYZANTINS, DECOUVERTS DANS
LA CITE DE NUFARU (X^e - XIII^e SIECLES)

Dans la cité fortifiée de Nufaru (département de Tulcea), on a été découverts quelques milliers de fragments de bracelets en verre du X^e - XIII^e siècles.

Les premiers bracelets en verre sont connus dans notre pays depuis le I^{er} siècle, afin qu'au III^e - VI^e siècles elles seront bien documentés dans les cités et les habitats romano-byzantins situés sur le territoire de Dobroudja. La réinstauration de la domination byzantine en Dobroudja marque aussi le moment de la réapparition d'une telle catégorie de parures. Les premiers types ont la section circulaire et sont façonnés en pâte de verre bleue ou, plus rare, verte, noire ou exceptionnellement, rouge. Pendant le XI^e siècle, c'est produite une véritable explosion des bracelets en verre, impressionnant par leur nombre, la grande variété des types - section semicirculaire, carrée, ovale, ellipsoïdale, avec des nervures en relief, torsionés, et par leurs chromatique et beauté du décor: quelques'uns sont recouverts d'une couche mince de couleur, décorée surtout en couleur jaune, aux motifs géométriques ou florales, ou bien le décor représente des combinaisons aux nervures minces, en verre de différentes couleurs, torsionées ou disposées horizontalement. Depuis la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, leur nombre baisse sensiblement; les bracelets typiques ont les couleurs bleue, noire ou verte et sont décorés avec des lignes incisées ou avec des protubérances, type connu jusqu'à la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.

Du point de vue géographique, les découvertes des X^e - XIII^e siècles sont limitées aux cités fortifiées du long du Danube de Dobroudja: Pacuiu lui Soare (approx. 100 exemplaires - X^e - XI^e siècles), Dinogetia-Garvan (approx. 1300 exemplaires - X^e - XII^e siècles), Isaccea (quelques cents - X^e - XIII^e siècles).

Du côté gauche du Danube, les découvertes sont très rares - un ou deux exemplaires à Dridu, Bucov. D'une autre zone, Banat, sont connues quelques dizaines d'exemplaires du XI^e - XIII^e siècles découvertes dans des habitats et nécropoles.

À partir de la composition élémentale, obtenue par fluorescence de rayons X (FRX) et par activation neutronique (AN), on a essayé faire la distinction entre la production locale et le produits importés de Byzance et Russie.

The Present Condition of the Georgian Monuments in Tao-Klardjetie in Northeast Anatolia

Exactly thirty years ago, at another Byzantine Congress, a concerned scholar presented a map, with the presumable sites of seventy-nine Georgian churches in Northeast Anatolia. His aim was to make his audience aware of the vital importance of immediate action against a complete destruction of the buildings. Since then, all other scholars who observed the churches, repeated this urgent necessity.

The monuments, unique for the "Tao-Klardjetie" region, are dated as early as to the last decades of the 8th or the first half of the 9th century, till the end of 11th. Some scholars accept this epoch as the "Transition Period" in the Georgian Architecture. Discovered and researched by Georgian and Russian scholars until 1917, the edifices were left in obscurity for about half a century, as the region was almost inaccessible. Since the sixties, however, especially the European scholars contribute to the recognition of these invaluable monuments. The accounts of their observations on the architecture, sculptural decoration and wall paintings appear frequently in articles, books and dissertations. Moreover, starting in 1995, the Ministry of Culture authorized a Turkish team to undertake a field survey in Tao-Klardjetie.

So far, forty-nine of the edifices found in literary sources have been located. Unfortunately none of them is intact. The best preserved ones are the three monastery churches, still serving as mosques. Four others are quite well preserved, but need restorations without delay. Further seven monastery churches and seven fortresses can also be conserved if required reconstruction activities start at once. In addition, possibility of preserving seventeen other churches and three further fortresses still exists, as the remains enable reconstruction and restitution activities.

Beside the sites located in literary sources, the names of the villages include the Turkish equivalent of the words "church" appearing in fifteen different places, or "fortress", in twenty-four sites, and "ruins" about eleven times. A survey in two of these sites uncovered two unpublished edifices. The instructions the villagers eagerly give, lead to further discoveries of unknown sites, usually as ruins, though.

The most complicated problem is identification. Scholars come to diverse conclusions or evaluate the same written source differently. Therefore a particular site may be identified under various names, or a specific monument may appear at different places. The medieval names of the sites may cause further confusion. The word "Agara", name of a medieval Georgian church, appears at four sites, but the actual church of "Agara" is estimated to be at another Turkish village called "Ağıllar".

The task to rescue the medieval monuments in Tao-Klardjetie requires much more than enthusiasm. There is no financial aid for a field survey from the government but the official authorization legalizes the research work, making it an obligation for all the inhabitants and the local officials to cooperate. The Ministry of Forestry supplies the land-rovers with drivers who know the region very well and are well informed about their surroundings. The team has no accommodation difficulties, either.

Despite all, the challenge is too great even for experienced scholars, equipped with the latest means and with generous budgets. International cooperation and financial support are indispensable. The monuments have survived about a millennium. Most of them still possess their unique plan types, extraordinary architectonic elements, high quality sculptural decorations and wall paintings. It is the duty of every one of us to contribute to the conservation of this cultural heritage, that we believe, belongs not to the nation that has created it or to the one that possesses it but to all of us, especially to the coming generations.

Sh. M. Shukurov

(Moscow)

The roots of Temple consciousness in Christian and Muslim
tradition

Our contribution is based on several categories of religious world-view in connection with the notion of the Temple which is genesis to both traditions - Christian and Muslim. At the same time, it is important to note the aristotelian concept of topology which is developed in the direction of the search for the topology of meanings, common to all the religions of the Abrahamic cycle. The main categories under consideration are: measure, number, name, prayer. The links between Name and Number are discussed in the context of comparative analysis of the Christian and Islamic notion of deification (resp., theosis and Ta'alluh). The accent on Name and Number allows one to display one more important link, that between the Temple and Prayer. The Temple is sui generis plastic correlate to Prayer, so that a believer finds himself not just in the place for prayer, but within the proper architectural image of Prayer.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE WORKSHOPS OF THE
BYZANTINE AND EARLY UmayyAD PERIODS

It is notoriously difficult to see into the world of the Byzantine craftsman, given both the paucity of written sources and the anonymity of the workshop. This is particularly true for historians of the early Byzantine period. However, as more physical evidence of working procedures comes to light in studies of the various early Byzantine crafts, we are better able to test *topoi* against direct observation. In my previous work on architectural sculpture of the Justinianic period, I have put forward ideas about workshop organization and practice based on physical indications such as masons' marks, surface treatment, carving of motifs, and discrepancies between design and execution. In this paper I would like to revisit some of these issues in light of recent scholarship, and to consider some parallels in early Umayyad architectural sculpture. The discussion will be based on my own work at the Hagia Sophia, Hagioi Sergios and Bakchos, and Hagios Polyeuktos in Istanbul, and on recent studies of the Byzantine crafts, metrology, architectural lodges and Mediterranean trade.

Alexei Kometch

Die Raumkomposition der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel

In der Hagia Sophia als Grenzen zwischen den *** in ihr nicht so oder so ausgeführte Trennwände, sondern echte räumliche Zonen, die durch zwei Säulenreihen geschaffen werden. Die kleinen Exedren verbleiben ganz in diese Zonen, dort wird auch ihr Hervortreten gedämpft. Diese Wechselbeziehung ist so offen - sichtlich, insbesondere in natura, daß auch das Entstehen dieser Zonen und ihre Maße durch den Bau der Exedren und durch Aufgaben der Neutralisierung ihres Hervortretens bestimmt zu sein scheint.

Eine ebenso breite Zone umläuft den Bau entlang dem Umfang der Hauptwände. Von Westen und von Osten her läuft sie wieder entlang der Linie des äußeren Vorsprunges der Seitenexedren. Auf diese Weise ergibt sich die volle Länge der Kirche, ohne die Narthices.

Wenn wir die Außenecken der Pilaster unter der Kuppel als die Eckteile Zentrales Raums verstehen (wo sich die Linien von deren Hauptflächen und der Exedren vereinen), so zeigt ein einfaches Nachmessen, daß die Abstände von ihnen zu den entsprechenden äußeren Quer beziehungsweise Längswänden gleich ist. Der so verstandene Mittelraum hat eine Länge, die den Durchmesser der Kuppel um die doppelte Breite der Zentralpilaster übertrifft, und die selbe Größe - und sie allein - bezeichnet die Maße von Länge und Breite des Hauptraumes. Der Mittelraum scheint gleichsam durch Zonen von gleicher Breite eingekreist zu sein; als dies zunächst scheinen mag.

*** Dieses Wort war leider unlesbar im Original.

LES ÉGLISES DES FORTERESSES PALEOBYZANTINES DE DALMATIE

Une série importante d'édifices de culte paléochrétiens a été retrouvée en Dalmatie dans une fortification (ou plus rarement à ses pieds) antérieure ou contemporaine, dans un *castrum* défensif et de surveillance des routes terrestres et maritimes ou un *refugium*, parfois même après leur désaffectation. Celles qui nous intéressent ici sont les églises des forteresses du "limes" maritime paléobyzantin.

Le territoire tardif de la province romaine de Dalmatie découle des remaniements de frontières effectués par Dioclétien en 284, mais devenus effectifs en 395. Elle a été alors amputée de son extrémité sud-est, devenue la *Prevalitana* ou *Praevalis*; elle dépend désormais du diocèse d'Illyricum "occidental". La Dalmatie représente donc à cette époque un territoire légèrement réduit, qui couvre un grand triangle rectangle dont l'Adriatique représenterait l'oblique inférieure, une ligne grossièrement orientée Est/Ouest parallèle au cours de la Save, sa limite septentrionale supérieure, et la Drina, le cours supérieur de la Piva puis une ligne Nord/Sud aboutissant à l'Est des Bouches de Kotor sa frontière orientale. Salone est restée sa capitale.

De nombreux chercheurs croates se sont intéressés récemment aux postes de fortifications (tours et forteresses, généralement à portée de signal), qui ont été échelonnées le long des voies maritimes, sur les îles ou sur la côte du littoral oriental de l'Adriatique, aboutissant à la création d'un véritable petit "limes". Plusieurs de ces fortifications comportaient une église, qui n'a guère retenu l'attention des spécialistes d'architecture militaire. Pourtant, si leur datation des fortifications est exacte, elle nous permet de dater approximativement ces églises des VI^e et VII^e s. L'église est, avec l'enceinte, l'unique élément fouillé dans la plupart des cas. C'était évidemment aussi l'édifice majeur, parfois le seul maçonné, situé le plus souvent au centre de la forteresse (dans quelques cas elle est située aux pieds d'une fortification de taille réduite).

Citons du Nord au Sud : Ogrul et Korintija-*Corinthia* (avec son agglomération associée Korintija-Bosar) sur l'île de Krk ; Saint-Damien à Barbat sur celle de Rab ; Budim sur la côte au Nord de Zadar ; Sainte-Marie à Tarac-Toreta sur la grande Kornat ; Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Sali-Telašćica sur Dugi otok ; Saint-André à Preko sur Ugljan ; Saint-André à Vrgada sur l'île homonyme ; Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien à Tkon-Čokovac sur l'île de Pašman ; Sainte-Marie à Biograd na moru sur la côte ; Saint-André à Čiovo sur l' "île" homonyme ; Saint-Georges à Putalj, Saint-Michel à Gračić et Saint-Maxime à Krug-Jesenice, sur la côte de part et d'autre de Split ; Gornje Selo sur l'île de Šolta ; Saint-Jean-Baptiste-Saint-Théodore à Bol sur l'île de Brač ; Osinj et Sainte-Marie à Sušac sur les îlots du même nom ; Polače sur l'île de Mljet ; Saint-Etienne à Dubrovnik sur la côte, ainsi que Spilan et Grbavac au-dessus de Dubrovnik.

On remarquera, à côté des dédicaces classiques (Marie et Jean-Baptiste), la fréquence des saints militaires (Théodore, Georges et l'archange Michel) ou typiquement orientaux (André, Côme et Damien), qui n'apparaissent pas dans la région avant la reconquête justinienne. Tous ces édifices sont de petites dimensions et à nef unique. Dernièrement, Br. Migotti et Zd. Brusić supposaient que certaines des églises ont servi aussi aux voyageurs et aux marins, naviguant dans les parages ou faisant halte lors d'une traversée de l'Adriatique.

Qu'il s'agisse de refuges, comme on le disait autrefois, ou de forteresses destinées à surveiller les axes de circulation, il est à noter que les fortifications terrestres comportent aussi un édifice de culte à basse époque. Elles se sont fréquemment implantées sur d'anciens *oppida* préhistoriques. Les plus proches du littoral peuvent avoir été en relation avec le groupe précédent. Quelques grandes forteresses, utilisées à l'époque paléobyzantine, constituaient probablement le refuge de l'agglomération antique située en contrebas. L'église n'y représentait qu'un édifice parmi d'autres.

А.М.Висоцкий /Москва, Россия/

О КЛАССИФИКАЦИИ И ГЕНЕЗИСЕ КРЕСТОВО-КУПОЛЬНЫХ ПОСТРОЕК В СВЕТЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ДАННЫХ И ТЕОРИЙ

Ныне признан, во-первых, при неустойчивости терминологии, трехуровневое деление крестово-купольных построек /постройки с крестово-купольной системой вообще — постройки типа вписанного креста — постройки с четырьмя опорами/ и, во-вторых, происхождение последних от какого-то единого дохристианского прототипа. Однако недоучитываются, во-первых, различие внутри последних не только по виду опор /колонны и столбы/, но и по организации пространства /чисто центрическое и почти базиликальное/ и, во-вторых, сочетание в последних двух элементов, существовавших и вне типа как "топой" постэллинистического римского и иранского архитектурного "койне".

План в виде квадрата с четырьмя опорами, где внутренний квадрат обычно является центром композиции, связан, во-первых, с римско-кельтскими храмами /Хитроу; Колчестер/, с некоторыми римскими храмами /Формия/ и с римскими тетрастильными и коринфскими каведиумами, во-вторых, с римско-арабскими храмами /Си/ и, в-третьих, с иранскими храмами /от храма в Сузах/, для которых не план в виде "чахартака", а именно этот план наиболее характерен /Бард-и Нипанда; Таил-и Джанги/ и которые встречаются вплоть до Закавказья /Дедоплис-Миндори/.

Перекрытие в виде крестово-купольной системы, где купольная башня является элементом не столько конструкции, сколько композиции, связано, во-первых, с различными римскими зданиями, во-вторых, с крестообразными христианскими церквями от первой церкви Апостолов в Константинополе и, в-третьих, с крестообразными иранскими храмами /от храмов в Нуп-и Джан/ для которых этот план достаточно характерен /Шахр-и Кумис; Битанур/.

Географическое и хронологическое распределение построек типа вписанного креста с четырьмя опорами от храма в Мусмийе до первой бесспорной церкви в Константинополе /не Неа, а Липса/ дает весьма нестройную картину. При этом к обычным постройкам /Милан, Сан Сатиро; Эчмиадзин, второй собор; Пенджикент/ примыкают как постройки с надкупольным "колодцем" /Жерминьи-де-Пре; Русафа/, так и постройки с купольной башней, но без крестообразных сводов /Трир; Эчмиадзин, первый собор/. Вероятно, наряду с миграцией построек типа вписанного креста с четырьмя опорами имел место синтез плана в виде квадрата с четырьмя опорами и перекрытия в виде крестово-купольной системы.

Взаимодействие крестово-купольных и базиликальных построек — от первой церкви Апостолов в Константинополе — обладало весьма яркими региональными особенностями. На латинском Западе этот процесс выглядел как проникновение крестово-купольной системы в базиликальные постройки /Тур, Сен Мартен/, на негреческом Востоке, с небольшими базиликальными постройками, иногда с четырьмя опорами /Ахц/, — как проникновение базиликальности в крестово-купольные постройки /Текор; Прем/. На греческом же Востоке на первом этапе этот процесс выглядел так, как на латинском Западе, на втором этапе, с уменьшением всех построек, — так, как на негреческом Востоке. При этом уже у Евагрия Схоластика церковь Софии в Константинополе не сложная структура, как у Прокония Кесарийского, а простое сочетание четырех опор, четырех арок и купола; в науке же различие типов купольной базилики и вписанного креста скорее не типологическое, а хронологическое. Вероятно, наряду с трансформацией небольших построек типа вписанного креста с четырьмя опорами имела место трансформация и больших построек типа купольной базилики в некоторых вариантах, а прогрессивность негреческого Востока была мнимой.

Un palais au village de Lykhni en Abkhszie dans le contexte
de l'architecture domestique byzantine.

Le village de Lykhni, centre historique important, se trouve au district de Goudaouta. Un ensemble architectural comprend une église à coupole du X^e s. avec des fresques du XIV^e s. et un palais. Les savants connaissent l'église dès la fin du siècle dernier (N. Kondakov, Ch. Diehl, G. Millet). Quant au palais, ce sont des fouilles de l'Institut Abkhaz sous la direction de l'auteur qui ont permis d'étudier l'histoire millénaire de ce monument. Cet histoire remonte aux IX-X^e siècles.

Au premier état du palais ses dimensions étaient de 28,35 X 31,5 m. Une grande salle d'apparat constitue l'élément essentiel du plan du rez-de-chaussée. L'axe longitudinal est accentué par un vestibule, deux annexes à absides (dont l'une est une chapelle) juxtent la salle principale. Les salles d'habitation étaient disposées au premier étage. Le décor en brique de la façade de Nord est proche à la décoration byzantine dite "céramoplastique".

La structure du palais est inscrite bien dans la tradition de l'architecture domestique de Byzance et de pays voisin (Géorgie, Arménie, Bulgarie). Certains éléments sont reliés à l'architecture islamique: des arcs de forme ovale, polylobée et en ogive, des pendentifs en stalactite en brique etc.

Les fouilles ont mis à jour un trésor contenant 27 pièces d'or des empereurs de la dynastie des Ducas, une pièce d'argent de Constantin Monomaque et 43 pièces géorgienne d'argent à l'effigie de Bagrat IV (1027-1072) et Guiorgui II (1072-1089). Ces monnaies datent le premier incendie du palais.

Byzantinische Monumente von Thessaloniki in Beschreibungen des 18.Jhs

Die Untersuchung von Texten, die man als Reiseberichte betrachten kann, läßt feststellen, daß im 18. Jh., in der Zeit der Aufklärung und des Klassizismus, das Interesse für Griechenland in den europäischen Staaten, wegen unterschiedlichen politischen, finanziellen, militärischen und kulturellen Gründen, erhöht wird. In dieser Zeit wird das Vorbild des aufgeklärten, gelehrten Menschen geprägt, zu dessen Wissen und Erfahrung unbedingt auch die Reise nach Griechenland gehört. Zu den früheren Pilgern, Matrosen, Militärleuten und Missionären hat man jetzt auch Künstler, Wissenschaftler, Gelehrte, Regierungsgesandte oder Konsulen und Antiquitätensammler. Viele von diesen Reisenden fühlen sich verpflichtet, während oder nach der Reise, ihre Tagebücher oder ihre Bemerkungen über die besuchten Orte zu veröffentlichen. Die wichtigsten Themen, mit denen sie sich beschäftigen sind die Monumente, die Menschen, die Landschaft, das Alltagsleben, die politische Situation.

Man findet unter diesen Veröffentlichungen sehr oft illustrierte Bücher, die wirkliche Meisterstücke der Druckkunst sind.

Einige von diesen Reisenden wagen es, nicht nur Athen, Konstantinopel und die Ägäischen Insel und Küsten, sondern auch schwerer erreichbare Orte, wie Thessaloniki, entweder per Schiff oder sogar auf dem Landweg, zu besuchen.

Anhand von fünfzehn solchen Reisebeschreibungen werden hier speziell die Informationen über einige Monumente von Thessaloniki untersucht.

Es handelt sich dabei um die Kirchen:

- des Heiligen Demetrius
- der Hagia Sophia
- die Acheiropoietos-Kirche
- des Heiligen Menas
- die Panteleemon-Kirche
- die Panagia-Kirche
- das Vlatadon Kloster
- die Metropolis
- die Apostel-Kirche
- des Heiligen Georgs
- die Rotunde

und um die Stadtmauer von Thessaloniki, mit ihren Türmen, Toren und Festungen.

Die Monumente von Thessaloniki sind, im Laufe der langjährigen und ereignisvollen Geschichte der Stadt, vielen Änderungen oder Zerstörungen ausgesetzt worden. So ist jede Information der älteren Quellen, richtig ausgewertet, von großer Wichtigkeit für das Studium dieser Baudenkmäler.

Dimitrios Tsikaras

4

The Impact of Byzantine Architecture after 1453.

Orthodox countries of the Balkan peninsula and in Russia in particular, as well as in the east and medieval west, has been the object of many well-known and distinguished Byzantine scholars.

This presentation, however, investigates an area of research that has received little attention and is well worth the study, namely the influence of Byzantine art - especially architecture - in the period following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The issues dealt with here are completely different from those concerning the impact of Byzantine architecture during the period of its dominance. The varied attitudes of historical periods and social groups to the values of Byzantine architecture give rise to a whole series of speculations and interpretations. The diversity and complexity of the phenomena under view, spanning as they do the period from early modern to contemporary times, imposes partial distinctions as an aid to the greater understanding of Byzantine architecture.

The example provided by religious and secular buildings of Byzantine inspiration, both in Europe and other geographical regions - and not only among Orthodox people - along with the writings of theoreticians and historians of art and architecture, confirm the continued relevance and time-spanning qualities of Byzantine architecture.

Reflections on the enigmatic 'Lady of Carthage' mosaic

A mosaic panel from a house at Carthage shows an emblematic, and enigmatic, female figure. She is wearing a purple chlamys, fastened with an elaborate fibula. Her long hair is encircled by a golden ribbon diadem; a silvergrey nimbus surrounds her head. In one hand she holds a sceptre, while the other is raised in the gesture of speech. The square panel has a jewelled border.

Since the discovery of the mosaic in 1953, the interpretation of the figure has been the subject of debate: Is it an allegory?, an archangel?, an empress (the empress Theodora)?, a personification of Carthage?, or something else?

The style is Byzantine, but was the mosaic made during Roman or Vandal rule, or, after the reconquest of Africa, in the Justinianic period?

Abstract title and text

Byzantine Fresco Paintings in Ölüdeniz Area, Southwest Turkey

A research project of early Byzantine sites in Ölüdeniz Area in Lycia, southwest Asia Minor, has been successfully continuing since 1991 under the auspices of Aichi University of Education and Osaka University, Japan. The series of campaigns revealed interesting fresco decorations of early Byzantine period. My presentation is an attempt of the reconstruction of the program and the dating of these frescoes.

One decoration is in a tomb on Karacaören Island. The tomb is situated near an early Byzantine basilica. It is built of ashlar, rubble and mortar. The burial chamber inside, 2.6m by 1.4m, is covered with a vault ceiling that is 2.5m high above the floor. The whole interior is decorated with fresco paintings as is described below.

East wall: A bust of a man, possibly a young Christ, is depicted in a frontal view. He is raising his right hand and is holding a codex in his left arm. The head and the nimbus are damaged.

South wall: Several men and women step towards the male figure in the east wall: An angel, holding a scroll and looking back, is leading them. A small figure is depicted at the end of the procession.

North wall: Two angels stand side by side.

West wall: Busts of two men are juxtaposed side by side. Most of the right figure and the head of the left figure are damaged.

Ceiling: Four angels are flying against the starry sky. They are holding or pointing a medallion of a cross in the centre of the ceiling.

The other fresco decoration was found in the side apse of a basilica on the so-called Ölüdeniz Beach, about 7km from Karacaören Island. Though the state of preservation is very bad, it depicts a saintly figure in the centre, a small figure at his/her right foot, and two angels flanking them. The posture of the small figure, holding out his covered hands, is similar to that of the small figure on the south wall of the Karacaören tomb.

These frescoes seem to be contemporary with the basilicas, i.e., around the 6th century. They are comparable in the style and the iconography with some pre-iconoclastic decorations including the mosaics of the chapel in the amphitheatre in Durrës, the mosaics in St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki and so on.

Phane DROSSOYIANNI, Athens, Greece.

5113

THE EPISKOPE OF SANTORINE

Slides are shown of some parts of the fresco decoration of the mid-byzantine Episkope that have hitherto not been recorded, and on the basis of these as well as of some other considerations there is attempted a re-examination of the iconographic programme and of the disputed dating of the monument.

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И.А.Головань

Ветхий и Новый Завет
в древних росписях
первого яруса Софии Киевской

Ставить вопрос о системе древней росписи Киевской Софии стало возможным после расшифровки достаточно значительного количества единоличных фресковых изображений храма. Исследование двигалось от изучения фактического материала к обобщению. Результаты исследований дали возможность подвести предварительные итоги. (1)

В северных от центрального нефа приделах (апостолов Петра и Павла и великомученика Георгия) размещены на столбах, стенах, арках единоличные фресковые изображения, раскрывающие ветхозаветный образ св. Софии и являющиеся иллюстрацией Ветхого Завета. Это изображения трех отроков иудейских, трех добродетелей христианской религии, Веры, Надежды, Любви: первосвященники, пророки, апостолы, св. воины, великомученики. Заглавным изображением этой группы образов бесспорно является помещенное лицом к молящимся изображение Иоанна Крестителя на арке, отделяющей приделы Петра и Павла от придела великомученика Георгия в центральном трансепте.

В Южных от центрального нефа приделах (Иоакима и Анны и св. великомученика Михаила) на столбах, арках и стенах помещены образы, раскрывающие новозаветные подвиги Спасителя, среди которых такие подвиги, как исцеление и врачевание, подчеркнуты специальным подбором мучеников и соответствующих изображений их жизни и мучения.

Визави образу Иоанна Крестителя, в южной части трансепта, на столбе, отделяющем придел Иоакима и Анны от придела св. великомученика Михаила, лицом к молящимся помещен образ Богородицы в позе Оранты, как бы озаглавливающий подбор изображений в этой части храма.

(1) Головань І. Перлина світової культури.//Мистецтво.-1968-№6-С.37; Ее же. Новые данные по иконографии росписей Софии Киевской.//София Киевская: Материалы исследований.-Киев.-1972.-С.46-50; Ее же. Нові дані по атрибуції Київської Софії//Образотворче мистецтво.-1975-№4-С.30-31; Ее же. Об атрибуции единоличных образов в Софии Киевской//Историографические традиции духовной культуры народов СССР и современность.-Киев.-1987-С.147-1547; Ее же. Другие работы и выступления 70-х-90-х гг.



O.Popova,Moskau

Die Mosaiken des Michael-Klosters in Kiew und die byzantinische Kunst vom Ende des 11ten - Anfang des 12ten Jahrhunderts.

Die Mosaiken des Michael-Klosters (1108-1113), von den Meistern aus Byzanz gemacht, gehören zum Grundbestand der frühkomnenischen Kunst, deren Gipfel das Daphni-Ensemble (ca.1100) bildet; auch die Mosaiken der Metropole von Serres gehören dazu. Als gutes Beispiel dieser Kunst der zweiten Hälfte des 11ten Jhs. können folgende Handschriften angeführt werden: Athos, Dionisiou, 587 (1059); Petersburg, Öffentliche Staatsbibliothek, gr.72 (1061); Paris, BN, Coisl.79 (1079-81); Dumbarton Oaks, Cod.3 (1084); Athen, Cod.57; Moskau, Historisches Museum, Syn.gr.518 u.a.

Im Unterschied von der vorangehenden spätmacedonischen Kunst (Hosios Lukas u.a.) mit ihrem ausgeprägt asketischen Charakter hat die komnenische Kunst die verklärten klassischen Formen zu ihrer Grundlage gemacht.

Die Mosaiken des Michael-Klosters behalten völlig diese klassischen Traditionen, unterscheiden sich aber in vieler Hinsicht von den Mosaiken von Daphni. Sie zeigen andere Proportionen, Raccourci, Konturen, Umrisse der Drapierungen, einen anderen Charakter von Assist und Kolorit, auch andere physiognomische Typen. Ihr Rhythmus, ihre Plastik, die Stellungen der Figuren zeichnen sich durch einen starken dynamischen Akzent aus, der den Mosaiken von Daphni sehr fremd ist.

Das alles zeugt von einer Kehre, von der beginnenden Abwendung vom Klassischen - im Rahmen der komnenischen Kunst mit ihrer Vergeistigung der idealen antiken Formen - und von einem keimenden Hange zum Spirituellen, das zum Hauptthema der Kunst im 12ten Jh. wird. Dieses Trachten nach dem Spirituellen wird stärker im zweiten Viertel des 12ten Jhs (Cod.Urb.2; Cod.Vat.gr.666 u.a.) und erreicht ihre Höhe in der zweiten Hälfte des 12ten Jhs. Die Mosaiken des Michael-Klosters stehen am Anfang dieses Weges.

Intimations of Immortality: Death and the Design of St.
Panteleimon, Nerezi

No recurrent or canonical scheme of imagery has been identified as yet in Byzantium that would permit us to identify particular programs with certainty as funerary. Thus, each program has to be examined in its own right to ascertain the likelihood of its funerary implications. This paper maintains that particular characteristics of the design of the twelfth-century cycle at the church of St. Panteleimon, Nerezi, clearly invite funerary interpretation. Moreover, the cycle also indicates that the patron of the church, a member of the imperial family, Alexios Angelos Komnenos, may have intended Nerezi as a place for his own burial.

The funerary function of Nerezi is suggested by the presence of an arcosolium located in the north-west chapel. The arcosolium is 1.90 meters long, 0.68 meters wide and is large enough for the body of an adult. That the church may have served as a burial place is further indicated by the selection and organization of its painted decoration.

The painted cycle at Nerezi is structured around two major themes: the human presence of God in the Passion, and the appeal for salvation through the passion and intercession of saints. The theme of intercession is particularly emphasized by the prominence given to Alexios' patron saint, St. Panteleimon. In addition to distinguishing his sacrificial life, the cycle at Nerezi also glorifies St. Panteleimon's medical profession, thus indicating both Alexios' respect for and his expectations from the patron saint.

The funerary function of Nerezi becomes particularly apparent from the prominence given to the theme of Passion. More than one third of the painted cycle is dedicated to the scenes representing death and sacrificial life of Christ and his saints. Moreover, the scenes of the incarnation, the theophanies, and the miraculous deeds of Christ are related to the scenes of Christ's sacrificial life, thus unifying the program of the naos around the theme of the Passion.

Both the themes of the Passion and intercession are interlocked in the program of the narthex. The hagiographic cycle of St. Panteleimon, which emphasizes the passion, death, and burial of the patron saint on the walls, and the representation of the Deesis with the Ancient-of-Days above the main entrance to the church, clearly prepare the beholder for the programmatic orientation of the cycle.

**IL FENOMENO DELLA SOVRAPPOSIZIONE E DELLA RIDIPINTURA
NELLE RAFFIGURAZIONI AD AFFRESCO RUPESTRI :
ALCUNI ESEMPI IN BASILICATA, ITALIA.**

Il fenomeno della sovrapposizione delle immagini appare come motivo assai presente nelle raffigurazioni affrescate sulle pareti degli edifici di culto di età medio e tardo-bizantina. In particolare modo ciò si riscontra nella pittura rupestre dell'Italia meridionale, accanto a un altro fenomeno, quello più povero della ridipintura. Si vogliono mettere in evidenza alcuni di questi esempi di pittura rupestre, collocabili nel territorio dell'Italia meridionale, nello specifico in una zona circoscritta come quella dell'odierna Basilicata (Matera e Potenza).

Questo particolare fenomeno non rivela però una precisa cronologia. La perdita relativa alla conoscenza del canone bizantino, dal XIV secolo in avanti, indica comunque come l'entità sembri sempre più ampliarsi. Interessante risulta invece l'analisi dei pannelli affrescati, nel periodo che va dal XII al XIV secolo, sia che rispecchino i dettami dell'arte orientale sia quelli dell'arte occidentale. Se, da una parte, la sovrapposizione comporta un preciso programma che denota una maniera differente di sentire l'immagine, peraltro possibile in un contesto misto dove poteva prevalere l'una o l'altra delle due culture, la mera ridipintura è, al contrario, indice di uno scadimento degli intenti pittorici oltre che iconografici, come dimostrano i semplici tratti, quasi correzioni, posti al di sopra di alcune immagini. Molti luoghi sono stati, infatti, utilizzati anche in epoche assai tarde rispetto alla struttura architettonica e alla decorazione originaria. Per questo motivo il frescante produce un'immagine rupestre perché il luogo di culto è un edificio rupestre, ma nulla più lo lega ai suoi predecessori. Il reale fruitore della raffigurazione, ecclesiastico o laico che sia, sembra avere invece il desiderio che venga riaffrescata la medesima immagine al di sopra di quella che la precedeva (esempi: Convicinio di Sant'Antonio, Matera; San Michele a Monticchio e forse San Biagio a Rapolla, Potenza). La primitiva raffigurazione non era probabilmente più sentita e si preferiva dare un tono di novità alle pitture dell'edificio di culto. Al contrario, veri e propri cambiamenti del soggetto iconografico sono più rari: palinsesto in San Giovanni in Monterrone e in San Nicola dei Greci, Matera.

Si tratta pertanto di un momento di continuità culturale, al di là di ogni connotazione rupestre. E' nell'ottica di questa stessa continuità che in parecchi casi il fenomeno della sovrapposizione delle immagini è stato poi tollerato.

ZAGORKA RASOLKOSKA NIKOLOVSKA

SKOPJE

A NEW CHRONOLOGY FOR THE HISTORIC PORTRAITS IN PSAČA

The fresco painting of the church St.Nicholas in Psača, as well as the historic portraits have been dated regularly to the coreigning period of czar Uroš and king Volkašin (1365-1371), according to their preserved portraits, where they are solely depicted one next to another. However, with our latest research we have come to the conclusion that the figure of king Volkašin had been supplemented later on, on a new layer of mortar. Therefore, during the co-reigning period only the portrait of king Volkašin was rendered (1365-1371). About the fresco painting as well as the donators portraits of the sebastokrator Vlatko and his family painted opposite to the rulers portraits, we propose the date period of (1358-1360). We have come to this date from the assumption that under the image of Volkašin, previously the image of the czarina Elena-Elisaveta was depicted in a nune garb, which is detectable from the small preserved details. This is the period when the czarina Elena (under the monastic vows named Elisaveta) self-ruled Serres and it's region, and when czar Uroš had been loyaly mentioned first in the documents. Therefore, we assume that the iconography of the ruler's portaits in their original concept with czar Uroš and his mother the czarina Elena depicted beside the images of St.Constantine and St.Helena where rendered in the proposed period.

The new dating of the fresco painting in Psača contributes to the changes of the mutual chronology of the two czar portraits. Firstly, the portrait in Psača was painted in Ohrid on the facade of Grigoriouse's chapel of the church of the Holy Virgin Peribletos (1364/1365) accompanied by the nobles Grgur and Vuk Branković on one side, and on the other by the archbishop of Ohrid Grigoruus II, the episcopo of Devol Grigorius the donor of the chapel and prior of the monastery St.Clement the archimandritos Jovan (John). This is a representative portrait of him rendered five years before his death. In the frames of the research work on the founder portraits we have come across new date on the chronology of the fresco painting in Ljuboten (earlier than 1346) and Matejče (also ear''er than 1346).

L'artiste et l'Église au XVI^e siècle en Grèce

Si en Occident l'art a été une « conséquence des formes particulières du rapport que les cours entretenaient avec les artistes à partir du XIV^e et surtout pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle, selon la thèse de M. WARNKE (*Hofkünstler. Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers*, Cologne 1985), dans le monde orthodoxe oriental c'est l'Église qui va jouer ce rôle important après la chute de Byzance.

La thèse généralement admise jusqu'aujourd'hui pour la période post-byzantine consiste à distinguer l'art monastique, considéré dans son ensemble comme « traditionaliste », d'un art « savant », plus ouvert aux influences occidentales, qui caractérise en particulier celui des icônes portatives.

Ce modèle théorique qui sert à expliquer l'affluence des éléments occidentaux dans la peinture des icônes doit être mis en question à la lumière de nouvelles données et après un réexamen du caractère de l'art monastique.

En effet, des publications récentes de plusieurs ensembles du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle ont montré une large adoption aussi bien qu'une élaboration graduelle du même langage pictural qui a été utilisé par les peintres des icônes. Ce langage, qui maintes fois se montre très progressiste, fait part d'une nouvelle politique, plus humanitaire, de l'Église, dont la propagation fut assumée par les grands centres monastiques, tels que le Mont Athos ou les Météores en Grèce.

De même, la coexistence et l'antagonisme culturel des deux grands écoliers - courants - artistiques, celle des crétois représentée par le peintre célèbre Théophanes et l'autre de la Grèce du Nord illustrée par l'artiste thébain Frangos Catellanos s'inscrivent dans le phénomène général de l'essor de l'art monastique tout au long du XVI^e siècle.

Ces deux constatations en combinaison avec « la valorisation morale » exceptionnelle dont l'artiste orthodoxe semble jouir dans le monde oriental nous permettent d'avancer une nouvelle hypothèse, ouverte à toute critique et sujette à toute discussion, selon laquelle la liberté de l'Église au monde orthodoxe exempte l'artiste en le mettant hors d'atteinte de n'importe quelle accusation ou revendication de la clientèle bourgeoise. Tout en adoptant ainsi un modèle parallèle, c'est-à-dire une fonction analogue de l'Église à celle de la cour au monde occidental, dans ses rapports avec l'artiste, nous entreprenons d'interpréter l'autonomisation de la conscience artistique et la liberté d'expression, conditions nécessaires pour la floraison et le développement de l'art pendant le XVI^e siècle après une longue période de décadence et de sclérose.

**Un atelier "italo-byzantin" à Chypre
dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle**

Les fresques de Panagia Podithou à Galata, de Panagia Iamatikê à Arakapas et de la Chapelle latine au monastère de Saint-Jean-Lampadistis à Kalopanajiotis nous fournissent le matériel de cette communication. Ces décors peints ont toujours été attribué à un même artiste ou atelier. L'identification de quelques-uns des modèles des fresques à la Chapelle latine nous a permis de dater les fresques entre 1555 et 1571 et de refuter la date de 1502 qui figure dans l'inscription dédicatoire de Podithou comme étant celle des fresques¹.

Notre propos ici se limitera à deux des artistes de l'atelier.

Le premier s'attarde au modelé des visages, qu'il rend de manière picturale, tendant vers un maximum de réalisme. Les rides de ses personnages âgés sont en volume et creusent les joues, tandis que des traits fins en ocre-rouge redessinent les rides aux tempes, sur le front, entre les sourcils. Il peint d'un geste rapide, libre et sûr. Il a sans doute longuement fréquenté l'art italien, en Italie même. Il se montre tout à fait à l'aise avec sa technique ainsi qu'avec ses modèles italiens, tant du point de vue iconographique que stylistique, ce qui nous laisse sans réponse quant à son origine: chypriote? crétoise? italienne? On a parfois l'impression qu'il imite le style byzantin comme d'autres ont imité un style italien. Les apports des deux cultures restent facilement discernables, tout en se fondant les uns dans les autres pour caractériser le style de notre artiste anonyme. Nous l'avons rencontré à Panagia Iamatikê et à la Chapelle latine, et peut-être à Podithou.

Un deuxième peintre, plus rude dans son style, élargit les surfaces claires sur les visages qu'il rend pratiquement lisses. Les traits dessinés des yeux et des sourcils confèrent à ses personnages une certaine froideur. Il aurait travaillé à la Chapelle latine et à Podithou. En dehors des décors des monuments mentionnés plus haut, nous lui attribuons l'icône de la Vierge Philochiotissa (Musée byzantin de Paphos) signée Sylvestros et datée 1570, ce qui nous donne son nom, l'Annonciation à Saint-Georges à Xylophagou et celle à Panagia Kanakaria. A-t-il voyagé en Italie? On ne peut-rien affirmer à ce sujet, mais il a fréquenté un atelier où les tradition byzantine, post-byzantine et italienne sont intimement liées.

D'autres artistes se sont joint à eux, mais l'atelier n'a pas travaillé dans les trois monuments avec les mêmes effectifs. Il se serait constitué sur place, à Chypre, selon les besoins des ouvrages à exécuter.

La nouvelle datation des fresques que nous proposons situe l'atelier dans le contexte général de la peinture post-byzantine, dans lequel on rencontre des artistes comme Michel Damaskinos. Ils font de longs séjours en Italie et l'assimilation de la leçon italienne contemporaine est si profonde qu'elle supprime parfois la tradition byzantine.

¹ FRIGERIO-ZENIOU, St., *L'art "italo-byzantin" à Chypre au XVI^e siècle. Trois témoins de la peinture religieuse : Panagia Podithou, la Chapelle latine et Panagia Iamatikê*, Thèse de doctorat sous la direction du professeur Florens Deuchler, présentée à l'Université de Genève en 1996.

EVANGELIA (EVI) D. SAMPANIKOU,

**"ARTISTIC TRENDS IN POST-BYZANTINE MONUMENTAL PAINTING
IN THESSALY, CENTRAL GREECE, DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE
17TH CENTURY"**

The historical conditions during the first half of the 17th century in Thessaly have inevitably influenced the artistic activity in several ways. Equally important has also been the role of the 16th century artistic trends, especially those from the two leading monastic centres (Athos and Meteora).

Various tendencies can be defined in the art of a number of monuments in Central Thessaly (area of Meteora and Trikala) during this period. Influences from the 16th century, from both "cretan" and the so-called "school of north-west Greece" can be traced in them.

There is a diversity of form in these influences as well as a multiformity of artistic choices, expressed with either a well ordered or a somehow "naive", or even a "baroque" way. The above mentioned can be identified not only through the iconographical but also through the stylistic analysis and examination of the paintings.

Some of the most predominant examples of the previously mentioned works of art are presented in this paper.

IL CORPUS INTERNAZIONALE DELLA PITTURA MONUMENTALE E IL PROGETTO DI RICERCA
"RICUPERI BIZANTINI IN ITALIA"

Desidero dar notizia degli sviluppi delle ricerche condotte da me personalmente e dai miei collaboratori nell'ambito della cattedra di Storia dell'Arte bizantina I dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza".

Da oltre un decennio la ricerca, sostenuta finanziariamente dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), "Ricuperi bizantini in Italia" è stata dedicata soprattutto al settore delle icone bizantine conservate tuttora o in tempi passati in Italia. Dopo lo studio e contemporaneamente le indagini tecniche le ripuliture e i restauri, com'è stabilito nel programma di ricerca, delle icone dell'Odeghetria della chiesa del Carmine a Siena e dell'Aghiosoritissa del Duomo di Spoleto (Umbria), entrambe con copertura in argento dorato, già presentate in via preliminare al XVI Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini a Vienna nel 1981, sono state ripulite, esaminate radiograficamente e in completamento di studio, la piccola icona del Redentore di S. Alò a Spoleto con copertura argentea e quella della Vergine della Cattedrale di Fermo (Marche). Nell'ambito dello stesso progetto i collaboratori, singolarmente, hanno compiuto studi su oggetti d'arte mobile, soprattutto metal work e miniature. Per il Corpus Internazionale della Pittura Monumentale, AFFRESCHI e MOSAICI, iniziativa internazionale organizzata dalla Commissione di Storia dell'Arte costituita all'uopo negli anni Ottanta ad Atene, è in approntamento il I volume che comprende le sezioni dedicate alle regioni odierne Umbria, Marche, Emilia Romagna. Il Materiale raccolto, che verrà organizzato per la stampa secondo le regole stabilite dalla sopradde-tta Commissione, si è dimostrato tanto interessante e poco quantificabile per quel che riguarda la presenza degli influssi diretti o più spesso mediati del mondo bizantino da indurre a studi approfonditi che daranno origine a due monografie, a latere dei lavori del Corpus da parte della dott.ssa Cristina Pantanella su S. Bevignate a Perugia (Umbria), e del dott. Mauro della Valle sul mosaico del Cristo del Duomo di Narni (Umbria), entrambi presenti al Convegno.

Quelques icônes en or de l'époque des Paléologues.

Le Musée de l'Ermitage à Saint-Petersbourg acquit en 1992-1994 trois petites icônes byzantines en or de l'époque des Paléologues. Selon le vendeur ces objets faisaient partie d'un trésor qu'on a trouvé à Tchernigov, Ukraine. Par leurs structure ces pièces se rapportent au type d'encolpions: l'icône est saisit par les parties latéraux de la plaque du revers et entre ces deux faces il y a une cavité pour la relique.

La première de ces icônes d'une forme triangulaires port à l'av-
ers l'effigie du Christ Emmanuel à mi-corps tandis que le revers
est décoré d'une croix flanquée de monogrammes grecques dans les-
quelles il serait le plus vraisemblable de voir "ὁ ἅγιος τάφος "
(le Saint Tombeau). Les parties latéraux de l'encolpion sont occu-
pées par de cryptogrammes. Les deux côtés du triangle portent une
ligature répétées six fois -[ΕΒ[Κ]ΤΑΤ[ΟΣ] Θ[ΕΟ]Σ- "Dieu que j'invoque
dans mes prières", tandis que sur la base de cet encolpion est [Ι]η
[ΧΡΩ]Σ et [Υ]Γ[Ι]Α[Ν] deux fois répétées et inscrites de mode directe et
indirecte.

La seconde icône porte sur l'av-ers l'effigie du Christ Pantocra-
tor et au revers une croix pommetée et fleurie.

La troisième icône représente la Vierge du type dit Éléousa. Au
revers au-dessus de la croix fleurie court une inscription russe
gravée: "Dieu, vien en aide à ta servante fidèle Eudoxie, amen".
Sur la base de cette pièce il y a une inscription mixte grecque-
russe: "Ἐνκαταλὸς Θεός " et russe - "l'abbé Sava". Du point de vue
stylistique cette icône se rapporte à une époque que s'étend de
la fin du XIV^e siècle jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle. De-
ux hypothèses sont admissibles à propos des donateurs. Il paraît
que toutes ces petites icônes auraient été fabriquées par un maî-
tre grec qui travaillait pour des grand-ducs moscovites.

CONCORDIA APOSTOLORUM:
THE EMBRACE OF SAINTS PETER AND PAUL,
A PALEOLOGAN ICON IN BOLOGNA

A study of a small icon depicting the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul and a possible interpretation of its significance are undertaken in this paper. The panel, measuring 35X28,5 cms., belongs to the collection of the National Gallery of Bologna. It is in a generally good condition, with only limited damage, having been cleaned and restored. Fragments of the initial inscriptions preserve the names of the saints.

The event depicted is the alleged meeting of these two important personalities of Christianity in Rome, where Peter had already established a Christian community. The literary background of this episode, which does not form part of the New Testament canonical history, is recorded in apocryphal writings of the early Christian period.

The Embrace of Peter and Paul was therefore devised in early Christian times and symbolised the unity of the Christian church. Accordingly, this warm meeting of the two "koryphaioi" of the apostles can be interpreted as denoting the fraternal reconciliation and the perfect concord of the two foremost leaders of the Western and Eastern church.

This iconographic subject acquired special significance during the late Paleologan period. The idea of the union of the two Christian churches was undoubtedly stressed in the context of the combined efforts of the Byzantine state and some ecclesiastical authorities for a closer contact with the West in the face of the Turkish threat.

The new interest in this iconographic composition must have originated in the capital, Constantinople. Images were probably produced within pro-unionist circles, in order to remind the faithful of the original undivided Christian church, and to allude to a possible - and politically desirable at the moment - reunion.

This ideological climate is perhaps reflected in the artistic example in question, the little icon in Bologna. The delicate design and handling, the freedom and fluidity of the brushstroke and the overall painterly character of the piece, as well as the deeply concerned expression of the figures, the combination of abstract qualities with some vigorous prosopographical features, all attest to the remarkable artistic level of the tradition in which the unknown painter was formed. Dating probably from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, this is one of the oldest known examples on a portable icon with a full-length independent representation of the apostles Peter and Paul embracing each other.

ANGELIKI STRATI

IKONES APO TO EKLISIASTIKO MUSIO TON SERRON-PROTI
PAROUSIASI/THESSALONIKI (GREECE)ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΡΡΩΝ-ΠΡΩΤΗ
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ

Η συλλογή εικόνων και εκκλησιαστικών κειμηλίων που εκτίθεται στο Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο της πόλης των Σερρών υπάρχει στο δεύτερο όροφο του Μητροπολιτικού Μεγάρου και δημιουργήθηκε το 1986-1987 από το Μητροπολίτη Σερρών και Νιγρίτας κ.Μάξιμο. Εκεί και σε χώρο τριών αιθουσών παρουσιάζονται κυρίως φορητές εικόνες, ξυλόγλυπτα τμήματα τέμπλων διαφόρων ναών, εκκλησιαστικά κειμήλια, ιερατικά άμφια και λειτουργικά υφάσματα από την περιοχή των Σερρών και της Νιγρίτας.

Ο κυριότερος πυρήνας του Μουσείου αποτελείται από 120 περίπου φορητές εικόνες και τμήματα τέμπλων που έχουν συντηρηθεί από το συντηρητή Ιωάννη Γκερέκο.

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των εικόνων, πενήντα περίπου, έχουν προέλευση την Ιερά Μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών-ένα από τα ιστορικότερα μοναστηριακά συγκροτήματα της Ανατολικής Μακεδονίας-και εκπροσωπούν επάξια τις τάσεις και τα ρεύματα της ζωγραφικής τέχνης του σημαντικού αυτού χώρου στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή. Ορισμένες από τις εικόνες συνδέονται πολύ στενά με τη ζωγραφική που διακοσμεί τόσο το καθολικό όσο και τα παρεκκλήσια της Μονής, γεγονός που συμβάλλει καθοριστικά στην ανίχνευση και εντοπισμό παράλληλων ζωγραφικών εργαστηρίων και κοινών ομάδων ζωγράφων.

Οι υπόλοιπες εικόνες προέρχονται από εκκλησίες των Σερρών, όπως η Παλαιά Μητρόπολη (Άγιοι Θεόδωροι), ο Άγιος Γεώργιος ο Κρυονερίτης, ο Άγιος Αντώνιος, οι Άγιοι Ανάργυροι, αλλά και ναούς και παρεκκλήσια των επαρχιών Σερρών και Βισαλτίας. Οι περισσότερες από αυτές είναι εικόνες προσκύνησης, δεσποτικές, δωδεκάορτου τέμπλου και χρονολογούνται στα πρώιμα και όψιμα μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια (από το 16ο ως και τον 19ο αιώνα).

Από τις εικόνες αυτές, μόνο δύο είναι δημοσιευμένες από τον Α. Ευγγόπουλο, ενώ διάσπαρτες αναφορές έχουν γίνει από τον ιστορικό μελετητή των Σερρών Γ. Καφταντζή.

Η συλλογή αυτή είναι πολύ σημαντική για την ιστορία της ζωγραφικής, της τέχνης και της τεχνικής των φορητών εικόνων της Ανατολικής Μακεδονίας και πιο ειδικά της περιοχής Σερρών και Νιγρίτας στα μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια, επειδή εδώ συνυπάρχουν αρκετά τεχνοτροπικά ρεύματα με γνωστές τάσεις της μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής που διατηρούν σχέσεις και έντονες συγγένειες με την παράλληλη τέχνη του ελλαδικού και ευρύτερου βαλκανικού χώρου.-

Engelina Smirnova (Moscow, Russia).

The Russian Icons of the Middle 11th - Early 12th Century.

The earliest icons in Russia are two pieces from the St.Sophia cathedral in Novgorod, about 1050 or 1052. Their sizes (236 x 147 cm) correspond to the intercolumnia of the altar barrier of this cathedral (G.Shender). The iconographic program of these icons, probably composed with the participation of the high ecclesiastical hierarchy, was adapted to the newly christianized country. In the icon " Christ Enthroned" (now Dormition cathedral, Moscow) new painting on the ancient panel repeats the original composition. Saviour holds the opened book of Gospel by his covered left hand and points with his right hand to the lines with the text from John 8:12 about the Christ-Light. The other icon, "Apostles Paul and Peter"(Novgorod Museum), presents the main apostles listening to Christ and emphasizes the importance of the Gospel's doctrine. The composition and stylistic features of the icons resemble the art of the 10th - early 11th century. Perhaps this altar barrier was the place for some other icons, including the "Odigitria", mentioned in the 16th century.

The well-known double-sided icon with the Virgin Odigitria and St.George (Dormition cathedral, Moscow), usually dated back to the 12th century, may as well be considered as the work of the 11th century. The image of St.George resembles the figures in the mural painting of this period (O.Popova).

Some written information exists about the icons from the Dormition cathedral of the Pecherskii monastery, Kiev: "Dormition" (one can find only the late replicas of this composition) and "Virgin Enthroned".

Two icons are preserved from the first third of the 12th century: "St.George Standing" from the Iuriev monastery, and "Annonciation"(both in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). The second icon, with the figure of Emmanuel on the breast of Virgin, probably was painted for the Annonciation church, 1103.

The earliest Russian icons contribute much to the artistic and spiritual life of Byzantium of the 11th-12th century.

Two Early Russian Icons In the Stockholm National Museum

In 1965 the National Museum acquired two Russian "red background" icons. Technical and stylistic facts indicate that there has been a central part, to which these icons once were side pieces.

The left icon represents the Apostle Peter, the right one a women martyr saint, possibly the martyr Ustinia or Eudocia, and the lost central panel could, probably, have been a presentation of the Mother of God, standing or enthroned, or of Christ.

The "sankir", the building up of the skin tones, clearly indicate an early dating. The massive figure drawing, the clear colours laid in fields, the red background as well as the yellow halo place the icons in the Novgorod area.

E.S.Smirnova dates these icons to the first part of the 14th cent. From a technical and stylistic point of view, it is possible to perceive them as stemming from the late 13th cent. In any circumstances, these are the oldest icons with a Russian provenance in the Scandinavian collections.

LATE RUSSIAN CAST METAL ICONS

Russian metal icons are bas-reliefs, which have been sandcast of copper, bronze or brass. Metal icons have been made in Russia from about 11th century to 19th century. They differ from other types of icons mainly because of their massproduction. The motive to cast metal icons was to have cheap substitutes for valuable icons both carved and painted. It is specially characteristic for metal icons that they are either direct copies of carved icons or they are imitating icons like painted ones.

The last phase of the history of metal icons is 18th and 19th centuries. During that period the features which derive from carved icons became more and more vague and metal icons started to imitate painted icons with high status value especially miniature icons and icons with rizas.

L'espace et le temps dans l'illustration des *Oracles* de Léon par Georges Klontzas.

Le peintre, scribe et écrivain crétois Georges Klontzas (v.1540-1608) a copié et illustré plusieurs fois les *Oracles* attribués à Léon VI le Sage. Parmi ses oeuvres conservées, deux volumes sont consacrés aux *Oracles* tels qu'ils ont été revus par l'érudit Francesco Barozzi. Il s'agit du Codex Bute (Paris, coll. privée) et de son doublet, le Baroccianus 170 (Oxford, Bodleian Library), daté de 1577. Les *Oracles* sont aussi présents dans la chronique universelle de Klontzas conservée à Venise (Marc. gr. VII, 22 [1466]) et datée de 1590-92. L'évolution de la conception de l'espace entre les illustrations du Baroccianus 170 et celles de Marcianus VII, 22 constitue un des facteurs qui permettent de situer chronologiquement le Bute, signé mais non daté.

Les miniatures narrant l'histoire de l'Empereur-Sauveur peuvent — parmi d'autres — servir d'exemples pour déterminer le sens de l'évolution. Entre le manuscrit d'Oxford et celui de Venise l'espace s'est développé et considérablement occidentalisé : l'horizon s'est abaissé; les représentations urbaines, plus nombreuses, ont gagné du volume et de la profondeur; dans la scène du Couronnement, on peut même avoir l'illusion d'un vaste espace intérieur. Les images du Codex Bute sont plus proches de celles du Baroccianus mais la relation spatiale est inversée : figures humaines et bâtiments s'y étagent en hauteur et l'espace tend le plus souvent à être ramené au plan, comme dans beaucoup d'icones. La figure 12, dans laquelle l'Empereur-Sauveur rend son âme à Dieu, est la plus révélatrice à cet égard, même la foule y est vue comme une forme globale, étalée dans le plan.

Vu le point d'aboutissement que fournit la date du Marcianus, la conception spatiale des miniatures du Bute est un des arguments les plus importants pour qu'on les considère comme antérieures à celles du Baroccianus 170.

Curieusement on a aussi l'impression que le temps a passé d'un manuscrit à l'autre : plusieurs personnages ont vieilli du Bute au Baroccianus, notamment le Sultan à la faux (fig.4), l'Empereur-Sauveur (fig. 12), l'Empereur au faucon (fig. 16) etc. Le même phénomène se constate au fil de la narration à l'intérieur même du Marcianus.

E. Dobrynina

Zur Frage des Ursprungs des illuminierten Kaiserlichen Menologiums aus der Sammlung des Moskauer Historischen Museums (Syn. gr. 183 \ Vlad. 376).

Das bekannte griechische Menologium aus dem Historischen Museum (Syn. gr. 183) enthält Legendensammlung für Februar und März und hat 57 Miniaturen. Jede Legende endet mit einem Gebet für den Kaiser, dessen Akrostichis den Namen ΜΙΧΑΗΛ II bildet (V. Latyšev, F.Halkin). Die Frage über den Verfasser des "Kaiserlichen" Menologiums und sein Verhältnis zur Legendensammlung von Symeon Metaphrastes bleibt offen. F.Halkin hat den Akrostichis in Zusammenhang mit dem Namen des byzantinischen Kaisers Michael IV Paphlagoniers (1034-1041) gestellt, und darauf beruht die heutige Datierung des illuminierten Zyklus der Handschrift (S.Der Nersessian). In den 1990er Jahren war aber diese Meinung einer Kritik unterzogen (Θ.Δετοράκης), und so ist die Frage über die Datierung der erhaltenen Manuskripte zu diskutieren.

1993-95 war die Handschrift Syn. gr. 183 in Grabar-Zentrum restauriert. Im Verlaufe des Konservierungsprozesses war ihre Kodikologie präzisiert. Von besonderem Interesse ist das entdeckte Monogramm des Besitzers oder des Bestellers der Handschrift (fol. 2, 2v, 3, 267v). Der Vergleich der erhaltenen Kopien des Kaiserlichen Menologiums und des Menologiums von Basilius II (Vat. gr. 1613), in bezug auf den Inhalt der Legenden und Bestand des Festkalenders sowie auf Ikonographie und Stil der Miniaturen, läßt die Frage klären über die Quellen der Handschrift Syn. gr. 183.

Gordienko Elissa

The Icon "King Manuel's Saviour" and the Related Legend in the History of Novgorod Church.

1. The Novgorod Legend "Miraculous Apparition of Our Saviour to Manuel, King of Greece", appearing in manuscript copies not prior to the 16th c., is related to the problem of separating secular and ecclesiastic authorities, of most topical interest in late 15th - early 16th cc., the period of the strongest opposition between Novgorod Church and the Grand Prince of Moscow.

2. Historical reminiscences of the Legend in the Russian epic tradition can be traced back to the late 12th c.: "The Voyage of the Archbishop Anthony to Tsargrad", late 12th c.; "The Praise of Ivan Kalita" in Siysky Gospel of 1339; "The Sermon of the Metropolitan Photius to the Grand Prince Vasili I", c.1410. The list ends with "The Precept of the Pious King Manuel Comnenus of Greece to the Offenders of the Holy Church" in the Stoglav, 1551.

3. The icon "King Manuel's Saviour" or "The Gold-Rize Saviour" (the latter title refers to the silver gilt frame completely covering the icon) is the earliest evidence of the problem in the history of Novgorod Church. The Saviour portrayed full-length pointing to the Gospel, illustrates the moralistic aspect of the Legend, appearing to caution the king against interfering with affairs of the church. The sources of this iconography originate with the Byzantine type of Christ the Almoner. In Russia the image was known as "Our Saviour the All-Gracious", and in the Novgorod Church tradition until late 15th c. had been interpreted as indicating superior authority of the Church.

4. The location and appearance of the icon from St. Sophia were clearly indicated in the chronicle of 1528. A possible identification is the icon of Our Saviour (not disclosed) currently in the Novgorod Museum, along with surviving fragments of its silver frame of the second half of the 12 c.

5. In mid-16th c., during the period of serious restrictions to church rights, there emerged another iconography for the image of "King Manuel's Saviour". It represented Christ Enthroned, demonstrating the triumph of state power. The idea of the holy origins of state authority permitted the Moscow prince to appear as "The Lord of lords of the Russian lands". A later replica is in the Assumption Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.

COMMITTENZA ARTISTICA E PRODUZIONE DI CODICI SOTTO ANNA DI SAVOIA (1341-1347)

Anna di Savoia sposa nel 1326 Andronico III Paleologo. Sarà poi destinata, quale reggente in Costantinopoli e quale sovrana in proprio a Tessalonica, a governare l'Impero durante la più grave crisi politica e dinastica della sua storia e cioè la guerra civile del 1341-1347, con gli strascichi di essa, durati fino al 1354. Normalmente, questo periodo, per le sue difficoltà, anche economiche, viene, ad un esame non lucido, ritenuto privo di intraprese architettoniche ed artistiche; in realtà, vide addirittura, tra l'altro, la ricostruzione e la ridecorazione di una parte consistente della cupola e della zona presbiteriale della S. Sofia di Costantinopoli, promossa da Anna stessa e dal figlio Giovanni V. La Paleologina non si occupò però soltanto di architettura e decorazione monumentale. Esiste infatti almeno un codice miniato, forse da lei commissionato e che certamente fu in suo possesso: si tratta del cod. 1384 del Monastero di Iviron sul Monte Athos, scritto nel 1346 da Chariton per l'imperatrice, come recita il colophon al f. 265v (vorrei qui sottolineare i rapporti di questo monastero con il convento ton Vlatadon di Tessalonica, per la cui fondazione pure si è avanzato il nome di Anna).

Si tratta di un Salterio, privo di immagini ma con due frontespizi e altre ornamentazioni, realizzate in oro e colori vivissimi con prevalenza del blu, di grande qualità e originalità. Grazie agli studi del Politis (1958) e di Hunger e Kresten (1980), conosciamo bene lo scriba Chariton e il luogo ove svolse la sua attività cioè il convento costantinopolitano ton Hodegon ed eventualmente lo scriptorium del convento, almeno per quanto riguarda gli aspetti paleografici; assai meno quelli artistici. Chariton fu attivo proprio tra il 1319 e il 1346; la sua firma compare su almeno dieci manoscritti, tra cui quello di Anna. Di questi, ben quattro sono stati realizzati tra il 1336 e il 1346: l'Evangelario Paris.B.N. gr. 311, del 1336; l'Evangelario Athon.Lavra A 67, del 1342; il Salterio Sinait. gr. 55, del 1344, e, infine, il suddetto Salterio. A questi bisogna aggiungere altri codici sicuramente datati ed eseguiti quasi certamente nella capitale nel medesimo torno di tempo: il Tetravangelo Athon.Lavra A46 del 1335; il Tetravangelo Patm. 81, del 1335; l'Ippocrate Paris. B.N. gr. 2144, del 1341-1345; il Menologio Paris. B.N. Coislin 121, del 1342; il Tetravangelo Sinait. gr. 152, commissionato da Isacco Paleologo Asen nel 1346. Possiamo anche citare, poiché è stato realizzato nello stesso anno 1346, il Typikon del convento di S. Eugenio a Trebisonda, oggi Athon. Vatop. 1199. Ne esistono poi numerosi altri datati con minor certezza ed eseguiti sia a Costantinopoli sia in centri diversi. Ricchissima è quindi la produzione miniaturistica dell'epoca, soprattutto non figurativa.

Tale produzione non può, però, per il momento essere organizzata in gruppi stilisticamente omogenei. Anzi, confrontando i codici, anche nel caso di opere prodotte nel medesimo luogo, ad es. l'Hodegon che pure, anche a detta del Buchta (1975), occupa un posto di rilievo nella storia della miniatura paleologa, si riscontrano piuttosto radicali differenze nella decorazione che possono far pensare a diversi miniatori e a diversi ateliers e certamente a molteplici fonti di ispirazione, fatti comunque positivi per quanto riguarda la valutazione del clima artistico dell'epoca, altrimenti ritenuta di stagnazione se non di piena decadenza.

John Lindsay Opie. Rome
Angelos: A New Discovery

5235

In 1968 a panel was sold at auction in Rome representing the Epi-taphios Threnos, the Lamentation over Christ. According to the auction catalogue it had been attributed by Sergio Bettini to Emmanuel Lambardos. Although repainted, it was even then evident that the work belonged instead to the early 15th century. Cleaning and restoration of the panel have recently been completed, allowing, in the view of the writer, an unequivocal attribution to the celebrated Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos, as originally identified and defined by Maria Vassilaki.

The version of the Lamentation illustrated by the panel is already well-known, the best-known rendering being that of Emmanuel Lambardos at the Byzantine Museum in Athens. Indeed, it represents the Lamentation type most widely accepted in Post-Byzantine art throughout the Orthodox world, even to the present day; felt, from the second half of the 15th century, as a kind of canonical model of the subject. The establishment of the type, before the recent discovery, usually has been referred to the latter period, citing the contemporary examples at Thera, Naxos and Recklinghausen Museum.

The importance of the present panel, accepting the attribution, can hardly be over-estimated. It is the only icon by Angelos so far to come to the light in Italy, although there are versions and half-hidden traces of others. The quality of the painting and composition places the work among the masterpieces of its time. Once more the 'crystallization' of a major theme in Cretan painting turns out to be owing to Angelos rather than to his successors. Finally, the panel provides evidence that the Lamentation some 200 years earlier occupied the same position on the iconostasis that we find in Cretan and related representations of the late 16th and 17th centuries.

WORKSHOP OF RITZOSS FAMILY AND
CRETAN ICONS OF the XYth CENTURY

The icon studio by Ritzoss' family - Andreas and his son Nikolaos - was one of the leading Cretan School of the XYth century. It possible to consider that Ritzass did created some new iconographic schemes then had become popular and widespread among Cretan artists.

The Ritzoss' studio had been guided by the Byzantine Paleologan art. especially its capital (metropolitan) style. The Ritzass' art works like Paleologan monuments has got the own features as refined and subtle taste. as well as irreproachable design and heightened ornamented colour. miniature art of high quality.

There are rather big group. besides of the art works signed by Ritzoss. of the fine icons very similar by their features to Ritzoss creation. However it would be wrong all highle artistic icons of the second half of the XYth century are believed to these masters' creation (Ritzoss). if we could find out the parallels and close connections between them.

The written original sources have kept the dozens names of the cretan icon-artists had been working at that period as Ritzoss' family.

Many of them had been guided too to the capital Eyzantine art and. it seems to us. this moment does fix the Cretan icons general style of the XYth century. We think that one of these artist had painted the triptyches from the Hermitage. St.Petersburg (former Bazilevsky's collections) and from Benaki museum. Athens. and perhaps the triptych is from the Levendis collection. London.

The creation of this artist. for the present unknown. is very similar to Ritzoss' style but at any case his creatin has got the brilliant art original features whose gave us an opportunity to joint these triptyches into one group, but whose do not allow to believe them to the Ritzoss' works as some researchers have considered.

We could imagine variety of Cretan school icons and the Ritzoss' studio. who was the leading but not the only outstanding icon-artists in Crete. significance in this school-forming only systemazing the Cretan icons of the XYth century, dividing into the original groups and comparing them between each others.

BYZANCE APRÈS BYZANCE : AN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT CASE

The *Psalter* of Dragomirna (TD 6/1934, former 354-32) dated ca 1616 and commissioned by the *erudite* metropolitan of Moldavia, Anastasie Crimcovici, is the only manuscript known in the Romanian mediaeval painting to include illustrations (38) of the Psalms: full-page or smaller-scale miniatures of *David writing*, *David among musicians*, *David teaching*, *David praying*, along with a *historical cycle* of David - battle scenes, the plague punishment, David's charge to Solomon, David and Solomon at the court - as well as with a cycle of Moses - talking to Pharaoh, striking the rock, teaching, flanking the Arch, praying after crossing the Red Sea - at the beginning and/or at the end of each *kathisma*. The codex opens and ends with some New Testament illustrations.

The miniatures of the Moldavian manuscript may partially and prudently be related to some of the Byzantine Aristocratic Psalters or Octateuchs, through unknown, for the moment, intermediaries.

Western influences, presumed especially in the historical cycle of David, painted in the Moldavian Psalter, point to a remote source: a group of Latin Bible illustrations, in which the *Book of Kings* is ultimately dependent, according to H. Buchthal and H.J. Stahl, on a Byzantine recension, more detailed than the existing Vatican version.

To the same recension, reconstituted from the Latin Bibles, belongs in all probability, an almost contemporary Novgorodian Psalter (mentioned among the books of the tzar Ivan the Terrible) out of which one folio with scenes from the life of David has been published. Its miniatures seem to have much in common with the Moldavian parallels.

The direct model, if any, of the *Psalter* at Dragomirna derived from this version of the Book of Kings, might not be contemporary to the manuscript itself, as post-Byzantine Moldavian painting knows frequent instances where sources earlier than one century have been used.

DES CROIX BYZANTINES DE PROCESSION DE TARNOVGRAD

Dans le traité l'auteur examine six croix en bronze de procession, trouvées lors des fouilles archéologiques sur les collines de Tzarévetz et Trapézitza à Véliko Tarnovo. L'une de ces byzantine de la ville au V^e-VI^e ss, tandis que les autres, presque toutes, sont de caractère Constantinopolitain de la période X^e-XI^e ss. Telles sont les croix à l'image gravé de l'Archange Michel celles à décoration et aux inscriptions dédicatrices à St.Jean Prodromos, St. Théodore, St.Constantin et Ste.Hélène, et d'autres.

Les croix byzantines envisagées ont été apportées à Tarnovo probablement pas avant la fin du XII^e- début du XIII^e ss, ou bien au XIV^e s., c.à d. à l'époque lorsque la ville est devenue capitale du Deuxième Royaume Bulgare et plusieurs oeuvres anciennes de l'art byzantin ont été importées par les voies de commerce ou comme butin de guerre. Par exemple le chroniqueur byzantin Gueorgui Acropolites raconte le fait qu'après la défaite des armées byzantines de l'empereur Isaac II Ange en 1190 les Bulgares avaient gaspillé la couronne d'empereur les verres des notables, beaucoup d'argent et la Croix d'empereur elle-même.

C'est justement à l'époque métropolitaine de la ville de Tarnovo que les croix de procession envisagées ont été de nouveau utilisées, ce qui est témoigné par l'inscription de donateur du sébaste Berislav sur l'une de ces croix.

BYZANTINE OR ISLAMIC ENAMELS AT DUMBARTON OAKS?

Two enamel ornaments in the Byzantine Collection at Dumbarton Oaks have resisted attributions to a cultural provenance. This paper will set forth the source of the problems through a discussion of the iconography, style and technique of each enamel, and propose a solution in each case.

The first object is a silhouette enamel representing a part human/part animal figure briefly published in the *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection* (1967), where it was identified as "Byzantine or Islamic." In fact, it does display elements of both cultures, but these elements have not heretofore been parsed. Their separation will reveal what the contributions of the two artistic traditions are. Besides clarifying the artistic sources and iconography of this figure, a positive attribution can be made as to the craft tradition to which it indubitably belongs.

The second enamel is a lunate pendant, published in the *Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (1965) as Islamic. This attribution has recently been rejected on the basis of a "human" face in its imagery. There is, once again, a confluence of Byzantine and Islamic elements in this precious work which obscures its cultural source. My discussion explores this seeming conflict, and proposes a resolution which takes into consideration the conditions in which such a work of art could have been made.

The interpretation of these two enamels is proof of artistic interactions between Byzantine and Islamic civilization during the 11th - 12th century, and documents the artistic bridges that existed between these contiguous east Mediterranean cultures.

H.P.SKOP-DRUZHUK, L.A.SKOP

BIZANTINE ARONTIUS-MARTYR'S RELIQUARY FROM THE XI-TH CENTURY

In 1991, while working the catalogue of the exhibition "The Arts from Ukraine", we found in the stocks of the Lviv Museum of the History of Religion the ARONT-MARTYR'S RELIQUARY primarily dated by the XIX-th century¹. Even during the first investigations it was quite obvious that we had a unique silver ARONTIUS-MARTYR'S RELIQUARY of the XI-th century, the goldsmith execution was highly professional. Similar sensation was the find of the fragment of the reliquary on its back side where the author's signature was preserved: "This box was made by Sergiy S.Fmai the great son of Zalle - for the sacred head of the ARONTIUS-MARTYR'S". In the scientific literature of Byzantine art very few names of artist can be found.

The reliquary has a rectangular form with a flat cover. On two sides and central walls of the reliquary ten martyr's in their full growth have been carved. On the left side wall saint Arontius, whose relics were in this sarcophagus, stands first. The cover of the reliquary was reconstructed in XVI-th century and received a new form decorated by the emblem of Urban V, whose relics then were put into this box. We made a relative reconstruction of the primary view of this work of art which is reminiscent of characteristic forms of prototype Byzantine sarcophages that were repeated in some temples and burial vaults of the XI-XIII-th centuries. Taking into account the qualities of this work of art it may be put side by side, together in one row with such relics of the past of the Byzantine culture as the relics of Constantine Duce of the XI century from the collection of the Moscow Kremlin Armoury, Stavrotek of XII century from Ermitage (St.Petersburg) and others.

1. For the first time the materials about this reliquary were published in "Yaroslav Mudry International Foundation of Education", Thesis of Conference, 11-12 April, 1996, Kyiv. -

ALCUNI RITROVAMENTI SCULTOREI DA ISTANBUL

Istanbul, una città che ha conservato fino alla seconda guerra mondiale ricordi e testimonianze di due culture come quella bizantina e ottomana, nel breve tempo di mezzo secolo ha cambiato il suo volto trascurando purtroppo il suo passato di 2500 anni.

Questa trasformazione ambientale e visivo si vede soprattutto nella costa asiatica della città, vittima di una veloce speculazione edilizia. Ricca di monumenti in epoca bizantina, la parte asiatica era scelta in particolare per la costruzione di palazzi e santuari suburbani: numerosi erano monasteri e chiese allineate dalle rive del Bosforo fino a quelle della Propontide. Forse quel breve tratto di muratura che è ancora visibile nell'antico quartiere di Hieria appartiene al vasto complesso palazziale preferita dall'imperatrice Teodora.

Sono in salvo, da questo veloce cambiamento ambientale, alcuni materiali scultorei (ma anche tracce di tessiture murarie) - tutti inediti - sparsi in diverse località della parte asiatica della città. Provenienti da monumenti ormai inesistenti, essi sono di notevole interesse sia per la storia della scultura decorativa bizantina, sia per una ricostruzione topografica di questa parte della città finora poco studiata. Infatti, fino ad oggi gli studi riguardanti la vasta zona asiatica sono stati esigui e non recenti.

Tra questi materiali sono degni di interesse soprattutto alcuni capitelli d'imposta ionici, in ottimo stato di conservazione, provenienti dal quartiere moderno di Üsküdar (Chrysopolis). Alcuni di essi, di tipo semplice, sono ornati con una croce in un solo lato e nella parte ionica hanno le tradizionali volute e motivi di foglie trilobate nell'echino. Un altro presenta, invece, in un lato una croce entro un cerchio contornata da foglie di acanto e di edera e nell'altro il motivo di baccellature divise al centro da una croce. Il primo esempio rientra in quel numeroso gruppo di imposta ionici sparsi in tutta la vasta area dell'impero e conservati numerosi nei musei di Istanbul. Meno numerosi invece sono quelli arricchiti con elementi baccellati; un confronto si può fare, tra gli altri, con un esemplare da İzmit/Nicomedia.

Interessante è un piccolo capitello d'imposta di forma scubica decorata con un motivo di palmette stilizzate. Questo esemplare è simile ad un altro riscontrabile a poca distanza, sulla riva della Propontide. Analoghi sono conservati nella zona tracia; a Enez, a Tekirdağ e a Edirne e nel museo di Bursa. Degno di nota è anche un pilastro di recinzione finemente decorata con un motivo di ovuli e girali di acanto.

Questi e ancora altri esemplari, sempre in marmo proconnesio, databili mediante confronti, provano ancora una volta la grande produzione artistica che caratterizzò le botteghe dei scultori costantinopolitani tra i secoli V e VI.

The St. Nicholas Church in Demre or Kale (Myra), a town of Antalya has a very important place in Byzantine architectural development. According to the historical sources, St. Nicholas was a bishop and died in Myra and his tomb was built in the same place. Afterwards, a church was built on or around his tomb.

Three different building phases have been discovered during the works carried out at the church, according to the plan types, building techniques and materials. The plan type of the first building dating from 6th century is unknown but estimated as vaulted basilica. The second phase, dated 8th-9th centuries, shows a domed basilica plan type. During the last renovation of the church, which took place in the 11th century, the annex buildings have been added to the north and south of the church. The church has a special importance with its tomb and its transformation into a monastery complex by the additional buildings attached to the main structure. As it is known, the liturgical furnishings of a church such as templon, ambo, solea, altar, ciborium were essential in the Byzantine architecture. The fragments of the liturgical furnishings of St. Nicholas Church, are now located at the atrium and in the gallery of the church. There are some examples which have been used as spoli in the building, though not numerous, some pieces have been found in situ. Certain specimens of the furnishings on the other hand, have been transported to the Archeological Museum in Antalya.

The architectural sculptures which have been found since 1989, during the excavations lead by Prof. Dr. Yıldız Ötügen, introduced new opinions to the liturgical furnishings of the building. This present study includes the documentation and description of the liturgical furnishings fragments of the St. Nicholas Church. Besides, it attempts to solve the dating problems of the pieces, to interpret the functions of them in the ceremonies, and to suggest restitutional proposals for their original appearance by comparing them with contemporary Byzantine examples.

THE RELIEFS WITH THE WARRIOR SAINTS OF THE SECOND
HALF OF THE 11-12-TH CENTURIES FROM KIEV.

Among not numerous group of Kiev reliefs with figure compositions are two slate slabs with the pair representations of the Warrior Saints on horseback, which are of great interest. The slabs were fixed into the wall of St. Michael Cathedral of Golden Top in the late 19-th century. It is considered, that the time and location of discovery of these reliefs can't be proved now (Putsko, 1977). Nevertheless, the both slabs were regarded as the pair reliefs, which were decorated the walls of the one Church. It's regarded, it was the Cathedral of St. Demetrius Monastery, which was located on the Michael hill, too. It is supposed, that on the slabs are represented princes of the Kiev and their Saint patrons and the reliefs are dated 1060-s (Nekrasov, 1926; Vagner, 1974).

However, it is known, that one slab was found in 1785, when the stone fence of St. Michael's Monastery was built. The relief was immured on the wall of the Church, ruins of which were on the North-East of St. Michael's Cathedral. L. Pohilevich wrote that on this relief martyr Tyron on horseback was represented and it was made by not very skilled master (Pohilevich, 1865). This relief is kept in the collection of the National reservation "Sophia Kievskay". At present the Church in which it was found is dated to late 11-th - early 12-th centuries and it is identified with Apostle Peter's Church of St. Demetrius's Monastery (excavations of V.A. Harlamov in 1988). It should be noted, that the Cathedral of St. Demetrius Monastery was placed on the South-East of Michael's hill.

So far as N. Zakrevskiy in his book about Kiev described only that relief with the dragon-slayers St. George and Theodore (Zakrevskiy, 1868), another slab, evidently, was found not earlier then in the second half of 19-th century.

The opinion of A. Nekrasov, that these reliefs are works of the memorial sense with portrait representations of prince Yaroslav and prince Izayslav with their Saints patrons - George and Demetrius - is turned down by many researchers. (V. Lazarev, A. Grabar, V. Putsko). They consider, that on the Sophia slab are represented St. George and St. Theodore Stratilat. By analogy with representations of St. George and St. Theodore killing dragons from Cappadocia (Lazarev, 1953), some times, St. George is called St. George of Cappadocia.

**ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΓΛΥΠΤΙΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΣΤΡΑ -
ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΑ ΤΕΜΠΛΑ**

Από την μελέτη του συνολικού υλικού της γλυπτικής του Μυστρά -που αντιπροσωπεύεται με δείγματα από την Παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο ως και την ύστερη βυζαντινή- παρουσιάζονται ορισμένα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη που αποτελούν ενιαία εικονογραφικά και τεχνοτροπικά σύνολα της παλαιολογείου κυρίως περιόδου.

Πρόκειται για γλυπτά κομμάτια που ταυτίζονται και συναποτελούν συνθέσεις τέμπλων, σαρκοφάγων ή το σύνολο της γλυπτικής διακόσμησης καθενός των ναών του αρχαιολογικού χώρου Μυστρά.

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση θα παρουσιασθούν τα σύνολα των τέμπλων που προσδιορίστηκαν στο ναό του Αγίου Δημητρίου (Μητρόπολη) και στο ναό των Αγίων Θεοδώρων.

Lise Warburg

ON THE TRAIL OF AN ANCIENT TECHNIQUE

A knitting technique featuring archaic traits is still alive in Sweden and Norway, namely the so-called twined knitting - in Sweden known as "tvåändsstickning" and in Norway as "tvíband".

By tracking the technique into other geographical areas, including to Denmark, where it occasionally appears in earthfinds, and to those countries, where the technique is still part of a living tradition, a Nordic / Eastern European picture begins to emerge.

A study of the Viking traderoutes across the Baltic Sea and along the Russian and Polish rivers to destinations including the Caspian Sea and Constantinople shows several astounding co-incidences in need of further investigation.

A Danish example, dated to about 980, concerns a knitted fragment of blue cotton, which in all probability was part of a stocking. The fragment came from a Viking grave on the Baltic island of Langeland and is the oldest occurrence of both cotton and knitting in the North.

НЕИЗВЕСТНАЯ ПЛАШАНИЦА XVI В.
ИЗ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО МУЗЕЯ ВО ЛЬВОВЕ

В Национальном музее во Львове (НМЛ) хранится не введенная в научный оборот плашаница неизвестного места происхождения, которая является пока единственным аналогом плашаницы к. XV - нач. XVI в., исполненной в память иерея Мануила Амбаратопулоса, названная "голубой плашаницей" (Происходит из собора Рождества Христова Феррапонтового монастыря, хранится в Кирилло-Белозерском музее-заповеднике, экспонировалась на выставке XVIII Международного конгресса византистов в Москве 1991 г.)

Почти полная аналогичность рисунка и исполнения этих плашаниц - факт весьма редкий в сюжетном шитье. По иконографии они представляют характерный образец развитого типа плашаницы, берущий начало (по сохранившимся памяткам) с конца XIV в. (Плашаница 1396 г. Музей искусств, Бухарест). В этом типе соединяется вариант известный из раннепалеологовского периода - символическая литургия ангелов - с более поздним так называемым историческим типом "надгробного плача".

Особенность изображения обеих плашаниц - подчеркнутая экспрессивность сцены, превышающая своей динамичностью тематически близкие памятники того времени. В частности, обращает внимание изображение Богоматери: она рвет на себе волосы; похожая иконография не встречается в аналогических сюжетах. То же касается стремительных жестов и сложных ракурсов других фигур.

Обе плашаницы исполнены на высоком художественном и техническом уровне. Однако, между ними существует ряд отличий. Так, в варианте с НМЛ рисунок более геометризирован, несколько упрощенный, наблюдается разница в технике исполнения шитья. В надписи на бордюре (греческий текст воскресного тропаря литургии Иоанна Златоуста) существуют палеографические несоответствия, которые вместе с особенностями стилистики дают основание считать плашаницу с НМЛ позднейшим повторением плашаницы Феррапонтова монастыря или ее аналогии и датировать серединой XVI в. Стилистические, типологические признаки и модификации в написании текста дают основание причислить обе памятники к образцам молдавского шитья.

Ioanna Zervou Tognazzi

The Protoevangelion of James, Fallacious Source of Marian Iconography.

The common opinion that the Book of James (Protoevangelion) was accepted by the Church to supply the details missing from the canonical Gospels respecting the life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ is untrue. The Protoevangelion, like the rest of the New Testament apocrypha, was never accepted by the Church tradition; it did not supply subjects for the Marian feasts and icons, nor material for liturgical texts and Church homilies. The sources for the latter are to be sought instead in the Oral Testimony of the Apostles, which St Paul calls Tradition in the sense of transmission.

The argument that the Protoevangelion was tacitly accepted by the Church around 431, and that hymns and homilies are paraphrases of this text, is a fallacy resulting from the refusal to admit the existence and validity of the apostolic Oral Testimony testified by St Luke and St Paul (I Cor. 15, 3 - II Thess. 2, 15). The Oral Testimony was integrally transmitted through preachings, according to the Church Fathers, Sts Basil, Epiphanius, John Chrysostom and by the Patriarch Nicephorus, qualified as inviolably binding by St Epiphanius (Antirr. III, PG 100, 385BD-388AD-389AC). As St. Luke notes in the prologue to his Gospel, it seemed to unknown writers that they felt called upon to describe events witnessed and preached by the Disciples. Thus, an apocryphal corpus grew up, which represented the "incorrect" redaction of the Oral Testimony. As the apocrypha became increasingly prolific, the Church compiled lists of canonical texts and condemned the heterodox versions. To prevent the contamination of the Oral Testimony the Church sought to verify each event and teaching by reference to Old Testament prophetic literature.

The similarities observed between the Protoevangelion and Church homilies and hymns are explained only by the common context. The limited ability of the unknown author of the Protoevangelion resulted in a redaction judged misleading and reprehensible by the Church authorities. Consequently, iconographical details, such as the flowering rod, carefully explained by the Fathers, are absent from the Protoevangelion because this text is the incorrect redaction of the Oral Testimony of the Apostles.

That the Protoevangelion was never accepted by the Church is proved inter alia by a passage of St Epiphanius (+403) and also a passage of St Andrew of Crete (+748) - never quoted - in which they specifically condemn the heterodox elements of the work particularly those found in Bodmer V (the earliest known ms.) in which the humanity of Mary is deified, thus diminishing the perfect humanity of Christ (Adv. Hear. PG 42, 748BC - Canones praecipui et triodia, PG 97, 1313AB).

The condemnation of St Epiphanius, who defends the humanity assumed by God from Mary as well as the notions of orthodoxy and Church tradition, viewed in the light of the Saint's praises of the Virgin (blessed among women, ever-virgin, Mother of God of the living) (Anconatus, PG 43, 136C-72C - Adv. Hear., 728C) proves that Epiphanius' reference was to the Oral Testimony and that Marian theology did not begin with the Council of Ephesus.

Scholars have hypothesized the existence of an orthodox prototype of the Protoevangelion of the same date of Bodmer V, III/IV century, (less heterodox elements) of which there is no evidence whatever. Instead it should be after St Andrew's death, when Marian theology and eortology had been completed, that the copyists for the first time redacted apocrypha of an orthodox character and adopted the titles of orthodox homilies for their copies: Postel Tischendorf manuscript is an example. ---

Le Chemin de Croix. Iconographie et typologie du sujet dans l'art byzantin

Le Chemin de Croix est un épisode du cycle de la Passion, qui illustre la marche de Christ dès Jérusalem au Calvaire. Il suit la Flagellation et il précède la Préparation de la Croix et la Mise en Croix. Plusieurs savants, entre eux G. Millet s'ont été occupé à l'iconographie du sujet dans l'art byzantin. Cependant des questions restent, puisque les divers récits - les quatre Évangiles, les Évangiles Apocryphes, le Triodion et Dionysios de Phourma- nous fournissent des versions différentes.

D'après les images, nous pouvons distinguer deux types iconographiques de base:

1. Le cortège, qui comprend trois variantes:

- 1a. Le Christ est amené au Calvaire par les soldats, tandis que Simon porte la croix
 - 1b. Le Christ sans la croix et aussi sans Simon est amené au Calvaire par les soldats
 - 1c. Le Christ porte lui-même la croix et il est amené au Calvaire par les soldats
2. La croix érigée, c'est la fin de la marche et l'arrivée de Jésus au Calvaire, au moment où les servants déposent la croix.

A la première variante(1a), connue dès l'époque paléochrétienne (portes de Ste Sabine, St Apollinaire le Neuf), le vieillard Simon se précède. Ensuite le Christ marche libre. Plus tard, en Cappadoce(Kiliclar), le Seigneur suit le cou lié, tandis qu'un soldat l'entraîne par la corde. Dans les monuments de la Macédoine Jésus se représente les mains liées. Des Juifs et des soldats ferment le cortège, qui souvent s'enrichit par la Vierge, les Saintes Femmes, les servants, les cavaliers(Staro-Nagoricino, St.Athanase de Mouzaki). Cette variante suit les récits de trois évangiles synoptiques et comme elle est la plus fréquente devient vivante et narrative grâce aux personnages et aux épisodes secondaires, qui s'y ajoutent.

Les premiers exemples de la deuxième variante(1b) se trouvent en Cappadoce, où le Christ tient un rouleau et il bénit (Elmali). En revanche, dans les images paléologues (Protaton, St. Nicolas Orphanos), Jésus le cou et les mains liées est attiré par le soldat. Cette variante, qui s'apparait rarement, reste sobre. L'absence de la croix et la brièveté qui caractérise la composition nous permet de supposer que cette variante exprime une tendance artistique plutôt symbolique qui fait allusion à la Passion sans la présenter nettement.

La dernière variante (1c) du premier type, connue aussi du IVème s. (plaques en ivoire des Londres), suit les récits de Jean. On la retrouve plus tard dans les miniatures de Pr. Gr. 74 et isolement dans quelques monuments du XIVème s. (Decani, Ste. Sophie et Perivleptos à Mystra, St. Nicolas à Cureta de Arges), où le Christ, amené par des soldats et quelques Juifs au Calvaire, est chargé de la croix. Cette variante, adoptée plus tard par les peintres crétois, tend à la simplicité et reste sobre et concise, puisque elle mis l'accent à l'aspect dramatique de la Passion et à l'expression émotionnelle.

D'après le schéma fondamental du deuxième type (2), au centre de la scène la croix est déjà établie, tandis qu'au-dessous de sa traverse horizontale se tiennent Jésus, les mains liées, le soldat qui tient la corde, des Juifs et parfois la Vierge et Jean. Plus rarement, des servants consolident la croix (Ivion 5). Ce type illustre la fin de la marche et l'arrivée au Calvaire. Il s'apparait au XIIème s. et domine dans l'iconographie du sujet jusqu'au XIIIème s. Isolement, on le trouve jusqu'au XVème s., mais très simplifié. L'apparition du type dans plusieurs oeuvres qui reflètent l'art constantinopolitain (Monreale), bien que le type du cortège soit déjà formé, prévient l'évolution iconographique du cycle de la Passion au XIVème et au XVème s. Sous le titre "*Ελκόμενος επί σταυροῦ*", auquel les peintres insistent dans toutes les images de ce type, on a associé le Chemin de croix, la Préparation et la Mise en croix, épisodes qui plus tard s'individualisent.

Le Chemin de Croix, épisode majeur du Cycle de la Passion, a connu une évolution iconographique remarquable. Inspirés les peintres par plusieurs textes, ont créé de nombreuses variantes qui manifestent des tendances soit artistiques, soit spirituelles et dogmatiques de chaque époque.

Змея и павлин в византийском искусстве

Проблема изучения символики византийского искусства диктует необходимость определения символа, выступающего предметом художественной условности и конкретизации его в контексте этой своеобразной культуры, неповторимой в своей исторической реальности.

Зоологическая символика являлась одним из важных компонентов в структуре образов, тесно связанных со строением формы в византийском изобразительном каноне, основным положением которого было не изображение мира, а постижение сверхестественного мира изобразительными средствами.

На примере изображения змеи и павлина-этих полирегиональных символов, лежащих в основе функционального принципа бинарных оппозиций, возможно проследить специфику диффузии изобразительных элементов других этно-культурных ареалов (эллинистический, египетский, сирийский, малоазийский, сасанидский и др.) в местном субстрате.

Неисчерпаемость и беспредельность возможностей в интерпретации змеи и павлина как символов в контексте византийского канона объясняется их сложностью и неразгаданностью и прямой связью с космологией и Высшим Разумом. А потому каждую интерпретацию можно рассматривать лишь как новых символ.

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H.P.SKOP-DRUZIUK, L.A.SKOP

THE CHILD'S SARCOPHAGUS OF THE KING DANYLO HALYTSKY'S TIMES

In the baptistery of the Kyiv St. Sophia Church, comparatively recently, there appeared a very interesting exhibit, brought from the Vinnytsya Region.¹⁾ The absence of the scientific investigations of this exhibit made us explore more minutely this relic of the past. This exhibit is rectangular in the plain bulk cut off a monolith white marble with the decorative fretwork (bas-relief) from all four sides. The height of the bulk is 59 cm, the length - 104 cm, the width - 100 cm, the thickness of the walls - 7 cm.

In the centre of the bottom there is an opening 9 cm in diameter. From the face side of the work of art there is a carved monogram of Christ - the sign Chiro 25 cm in diameter. On the sides there are two posooka in the profile position, symmetrically directed with the head to the side of the chrysm.

Under the chest of the peacocks there is a carved rose. All this composition of stylized vegetative motives is framed on all sides of the work. From the left side of the handicraft the author also carved symmetrically the profile of two semargles. The front paws of these deities lean upon a little tree (the symbol of life is the tree) which looks as if under the protection of these winged dogs. On the right side the composition with the semargles literally repeats itself, only the heads are not those of the dogs but of eagles, characteristic of gryphons.

On the back side of the handicraft one can see a carpet-like composition constructed of stylized vegetative motives, composed into the motive of the Old-Russ tied weaving. The presence of the peacocks on the handicraft (the symbol of cosmos) and less eternity as well as flowers roses (the symbols of life) are, of course, not accidental. Just such a composition in the combination with a chrysm was rather popular in the decor of the sarcophaguses. The similar composition with the peacocks and chrysm one can see on the sarcophagus of the archbishop Teodoracus from Ravenna. Defined as "bathing" by Mr. Tymonovych sarcophagus is not of a grown up man in Ravenna, but that of a child.

The motives of flowers and peacocks in Christianity as on pagan simargles, gryphons were widely used as symbols of death in the burying semantics.

The analysis of the character of the plastic art of the Kyiv's handicraft suggest to date it the time period of the end of of XII and the beginning of the XIII. It was a period of flourishing of the whitestone carving in the Halych-Volynian principality when with the ornamenting the temples of the Volodymyr-Suzdal principality with the whitestone carving the artel-worked under the direction of the master Bakun.

1) For the first time the materials about this reliquary were published in "Yaroslav Mudry International Foundation of Education", Thesis of Conference, 11-12 April, 1996, Kyiv.-1996.

The Forgotten Unity and Quaternity Symbol

The christian symbol was abundant from the fourth century both in the East and the West, but unrecognised because of the imaginative skill of the artists and craftsmen whilst keeping firmly to the design of four identical motifs as a square about a central, usually different motif. Examples, sketches and references are provided in the appendix.

Thought to be a quincunx in cross in square design by Krautheimer, who admitted purloining the name from Conant, and also by Nees in the *Majestas Domini* of five circles in the Gundohindus Gospels, this is inaccurate, for it is a duality, that of Unity, Christ, the Creative Logos and a quaternity, appropriate to the period. Occurring only with Holy people, Christ, the Virgin and Saints, it was thus a sign of Sanctity. It could and did represent Christ and those four Evangelists who spread His cosmic message of salvation to the four corners of the earth. It was a reminder to a reader of the Holy Scriptures, that he should meditate on it in the fourfold way of *historia*, *allegoria*, *tropologia* and *anagoge* (Esmeiyr).

By implication it was common, but certainly not universal, on all sorts of liturgical furniture, such as altars, book covers, crosses, reliquaries and textiles.

Because in those days the church was regarded as sacred, 'Heavenly Jerusalem' on earth. The ground plan of Qalat Siman, 370AD has quarter circles to the saint's pillar at the intersection of the (equal) cross arms. The actual chambers can be seen today in the fifth century church of St. George at Sofia and in the Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna, about 500 AD. It is present quaternally in the four pendentive rooflets attached to the central cupola of the fifth to seventh century churches in Georgia and Armenia. The Sion of Bolnisi is dated to 468-491 AD.

Inside not only the cupola and pendentives form quaternal over the celebrant, but the sacred apse was often outlined with the symbolism, the central motif, usually alternate, being joined by an aesthetic line, as at fifth century Rome and sixth century Ravenna, Parenzo and Sinai. Christ Pancrator often holds a significantly decorated Bible.

The interior ground plan can be a simple design such as the church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs at Gerasa, 465 AD, where four corner chambers are between the arms of a cross indicated by rows of columns (ninth century Northern Isle High Crosses)

Alternatively there can be hemicircles at the corners of a church usually with an octagon at the centre, as at the Cathedral at Bosra, 512 AD or the martyrium of the 'triumphant martyr George' at Ezra, three years later. Fifth to seventh century churches in the Caucasus, such as the Sion of Bolnisi dated to 468-491 AD and seventh century

Aran, have horseshoe recesses to the implicat octagon or circle. Aght'amar, 921 AD by King Gagik has corner projections (which have the chambers) as well, and like Aran, have in addition four square corner chambers also.

The quatrefoil east end of the church of St. Lorenzo outside old Milan, 380 AD, uses shallow foils which are shorter than the sides of the square, this giving projections at their corners. Quatrefoils do not often seem to be recognised as cross designs. Other churches like that at Selencia Pieria, late fifth century, and Bagaran in Armenia, 631 AD, are similar.

Like the trefoil, the octagon and the eight spoke variant of the quaternal have received little interest yet they are significant in their own right. St. Ambrose speaking in verse on the blessed nature of the former, for baptisteries. An interesting variant of the former is the double shell church of the Theotokos on Mount Garizum, built by Emperor Zeno in 484 AD. Probably earlier is the Rotunda of St. George and the Palace Octagon in Thessalonika. An excellent eight spoke is the possible martyrium for the tomb of St. Philip at Hierapolis. In linear form, raised or incised, boxed eight spoke designs are common on capitals, as at the twelfth century priory church at Whithorn, Galloway, or incised on the jambs of the doorways of the contemporary round chapel in Ludlow Castle.

Hidden almost by the museum wall at Cividale, the well known tomb altar of Duke Ratchis has two large simple quaternals on the back, either side of the reliquary container entrance. The frames of most insular miniatures are quaternal, as are some of the illustrations themselves.

The relation of the quaternal symbolism to regality is fascinating, gives perhaps two millenia into the past and certainly to two millenia now.

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Priests in Prayer in Byzantine Iconography.

Although we may briefly touch the origin of the Christian prayer, this paper is concerned mostly with the iconographycal gesture of the priests in prayer and it is especially to the Orans that attention is being given. In the Pre-Constantinian Church, Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromata* VII, 7, 40:1, Origen in his treatise *On Prayer* 32 and Tertullian in the chapter 25 of his treatise *On Prayer*, refers to the custom of prayer by "the lifting up of the hands like an evening sacrifice."

Traditionally scholars, such as Andre Grabar (*Martirium*, II), maintained that Christian Orans seen for first time into catacombs painting, were formulated after a well known type of the antique funeral portrait and were related to the theme of the "martyre-orantes."

The Christian art of Antiquity not only spanned many centuries but extended over a vast area. In the fourth century, Christian art, official after 330, gained ground throughout the converted Empire. Two portraits dated circa 400, one a mural painting, from the tomb of "Proculus" (a priest as per Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p.82), in the "locus luci" in the San Gennaro catacomb in Naples, and the other of Saint Ananias presbyteros, a mosaic from the cupola of The Rotunda-Saint George Church from Tessaloniki, bring us to the words of John Chrysostom. In his *Commentary* on Ps 140, 3, he affirms, "Let my prayer rise like incense before you, the lifting up of my hands like the evening sacrifice."

More prototypal works that set the style of the Christian Orans can be found in Egypt in a group of pagan, Hellenistic funerary stelae of the late third and early fourth centuries, from Terenouthis (El Tarrana), now in the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Many of them portray men, women and children with hands upraised. Finnley A. Hooper, who published them in 1961, stated that the stelae "represent a localized version of the final stage in the pagan tradition and in certain respects point ahead to the Christian art that follow."

In the fourth century one could call Greeks in Egypt Pagans and Copts Christians. Egyptian Christendom was of great significance in the history of the Church. It was here that Christian religious monasticism originated. John Cassian, born in Scythia Minor, lived in Scetis (Egypt) from 380 to 399, and wrote a detailed account of the Egyptian offices in Books II and III of his *Institutes*. He mentioned that "7, they prostrate themselves to the ground as if but adoring the Divine Mercy, and as soon as possible raise up, and again standing erect with outspread hands-just as they been standing to pray before" and in *Institutes* III, 3:8-11 "we can show from that which is sung by David:" Let my prayer be sent before your presence like incense, the lifting up of my hands like an evening sacrifice" (Ps. 140:2).

It is within this context that we may view several images of priests as Orans from Egypt. The first one is a fragment of a limestone niche from Psyche Abada, another is a Funeral relief of Apa Schenute from the White Monastery in Sohag, circa 451, followed by a priestly saint praying on a fragment of a limestone relief, a fragment of a "tenture" textile representing a priest in Orans, dated 6th - 7th century, from the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., inv. T.M. 71.46, and a mural painting on a cell wall of the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara representing Saint Apollonios presbyteros, with a monastic donor portrait bowing at his feet.

Following the Orant, another type of priest in prayer could be found in Greek Cappadocia, the portrait of the donor praying on his knees, in proskynesis. Catherine Jolivet-Levi in *Les Eglises Byzantines de Cappadoce*, identifies two such portrets. One is Nicephorus presbyteros, from Goreme 23, Karanlik Kilise (913, 920 or 1025), in proskynesis in front of the Deisis, and the second is Basil presbyteros praying to Virgin Teotocos and Child, at Karabas Kilise (1060). The tiny figure in proskynesis is not only a visual signature of the donor but defines the situation of cult; the monumental saint receives veneration by a living person.

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The Theology of Schism and the New Images of Christ in Byzantine Church Decoration

The theological polemics which flared up with the Schism of 1054 are lately regarded ever more frequently among the key factors of Byzantine spiritual development in the 11th and 12th centuries. As we see it, these polemics determined essential innovations in the mid-11th century Byzantine church decoration - namely, the introduction of new altar themes, "The Communion of the Apostles" and "The Liturgy of Holy Fathers", as well as the rare images of Christ as Priest. All together, these iconographic themes embodied the idea of Christ's unique New Testament priesthood as visual representations of a theological concept on which Byzantine arguments rested in the disputes with Latins on the azymes and the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (see: A.M. Lidov. *Schism and Byzantine Church Decorations // Vostochno-khristiansky khram. Liturgia i iskusstvo*. Ed. by A.M. Lidov. SPb., 1994, pp. 17-35).

Another pivotal feature of iconographic programs of the 11th and 12th centuries - the emergence of new, non-traditional images of Christ - can also be explained in this context of the theology of Schism. The Ancient of Days, Emmanuel, the Mandylion and other rare, and not so rare iconographic types began to appear alongside the Pantocrator. Though most of them were known in Byzantine art even before the 11th century, the introduction to church decoration of the various images of Christ perceived as one symbolical text, their arrangement in the essential spatial zones, and declarative comparison deserve special analyses and explanation.

Alongside the idea of the New Testament priesthood of Christ, and in connection with it, Byzantine theologians were working out another concept, whose essence lay in an all-round substantiation of a patristic premise on the unseverable unity of the Body of Christ (the Eucharistic Sacrifice) and the Holy Trinity. The topicality of this issue was determined by a profound controversy with Latins, which became graphic in the polemics of 1054, on the presence of the Holy Spirit in the dead Body of Christ, whose firm denial by Latin theologians gave a powerful impetus to Orthodox Christian ideology, which in the mid-11th century was in a greater need than ever of a new self-identification after its dramatic break with the West. Regarded in an anti-Latin context, the theme of unity of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Holy Trinity gained absolute domination in Byzantine Christology of the 11th and 12th centuries. It can be traced in many treatises from Nicetas Stephatos to Nicholas of Methone. The image of Christ reigned in the theological minds in a cosmic range from an eternal heavenly presence in the Holy Trinity to the Eucharistic Sacrifice on the earthly altar. To enrich church decoration with new images of Christ as a basic manifold iconographic structure was the only chance to bring the concept underlying them down to everyone as graphic and effective proof that Eastern Christian was the true doctrine.

Gunilla Åkerström-Hougen
Professor

5321

PRESENTATION OF A *CORPUS* OF BYZANTINE CALENDARS

My paper concerns the presentation of a *corpus* of Byzantine calendars illustrated with scenes of monthly labours.

In 1888 when Strzygowski was the first to study the phenomenon, no calendar earlier than the 11th cent. A.D. was known. This changed however when in 1974 the Argos (Greece) mosaic calendar was published dated to the 6th cent. A.D., the Byzantine calendar thus became six hundred years older (cf. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 1991, vol.2, p.1403).

The result of my iconographic analysis of the Argos calendar showed that it grew out of a late Antique tradition connected with Rome (January). It developed a distinct Byzantine character where the symbols for March and April play a leading rôle. Furthermore, the significance of the Byzantine calendar is that here we first meet with the rustic scenes that later on became a frequent ingredient in mediaeval art: tilling the soil, harvest and picking grapes even hunting scenes such as hawking and falconry. The Byzantine calendars appear in illuminated manuscripts, floor mosaics, literature and stone reliefs. If there is a connection between Byzantium and the West the opportunity to study this will be easier with a *corpus* of the entire Byzantine material at hand.

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Hagia Sophia: The Two Portraits of the Emperors with Moneybags as a Functional Setting

This paper aims to reexamine two mosaic panels showing Byzantine emperors with moneybags, known as Zoe's and John's panels, in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.

Since their discovery, publications on the Zoe and John panels in Hagia Sophia have continued to grow; issues pertaining to their meaning and context, however, remain unresolved: What particular donation do both panels represent by featuring emperors with moneybags? What specific function did these panels have in the south gallery?

Entering the southeast bay from the direction of the central bay, one can see that both panels are displayed on the north end of the east wall. South of John's panel, behind a pilaster, is a large window that encloses a marble door. This door is no longer functional. Originally, it probably led to a wooden staircase. This staircase is no longer extant owing to the construction of the southeast minaret. According to the Book of Ceremonies the emperor and members of his court used this door during imperial ceremonies. According to historical sources, the marble door at the southeast end of the gallery provided access between the Holy Well and the imperial metatorion as well. This door was used also for the Imperial donation as well.

There were several occasions over the course of a year when the emperor gave a bag of money (epikombion) to the church. The donation of the emperor on Easter is of particular importance. After the liturgy and the breakfast with the patriarch and members of the imperial court in the metatorion, the emperor, patriarch, and guests proceeded toward the door of the Holy Well, called the Door of the Poor, where the emperor gave donations to the different ranks of the clergy of Hagia Sophia, the poor, and finally the patriarch.

This study will suggest that the location of Zoe's and John's panels is associated with their function in regard to the yearly imperial donation to Hagia Sophia that took place at the southeast end of the church.

The southeast bay of the south gallery was reserved as a metatorion of the emperor. From the west it was connected with the central bay that belonged to the Patriarchate. These two metatoria were connected and were used for various ceremonies where the emperor and the patriarch, as well as church and court officials, met. Thus, owing to their location, the two imperial panels on the east wall were easily observed from the direction of the central bay when the emperor, patriarch, and other church and court officials entered the imperial metatorion. Both panels were reminders, especially for the patriarch and church officials and staff, of the source of their income and the importance of the imperial donations. They also were constant reminders of the imperial power and the security of the church. The imperial donation manifested the imperial power at the place where the emperor, the patriarch and clergy and guests, could not fail to perceive the message.

The Paleologan Iconography of the Chora Church and its Relation to Greek Antiquity

Stockholm

The iconographic program of the Chora Church in Istanbul is executed during the first quarter of the fourteenth century, in the Paleologan era of political decline and cultural revival.

In the year of 1282, when emperor Andronikos II Paleologos acceded to the throne, he broke with the Church of Rome and proclaimed the inauguration of Orthodoxy. But Andronikos' choice to make the polyhistor, author and statesmen Theodoros Metochites his nearest man, indicates at the same time the emperor's preference for Antiquity. Metochites was indeed an Orthodox, but that did not prevent him from expressing his ultimate admiration for the Greek Antique culture. In his main work *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, he stressed the importance of the Byzantines being the descendants of the Hellenes, with whom they shared the Greek language.

Metochites was requested by Andronikos to assume the restoration and extension of the Chora Church. About 1315 Metochites was made κτήτωρ of the church. In addition, somewhat later his sphere of political influence was enlarged by him being appointed μέγας λογοθέτης.

In the light of the above mentioned facts, I want to discuss the orthodox iconographic program of the Chora Church and its relation, foremost to the world of ideas of Plato, but also to Greek mythology, sometimes here maybe with a more peripheral and far-fetched correspondence. The iconographical and iconological analysis aims to elucidate possible nuanced symbolism and hidden tenors in the didactic, theological narratives. My discussion is concerned with, to what extent the Orthodox Byzantine culture and the non-Christian Greek Antique culture share the same cultural systems of signs and symbols, semiotics.

As Theodoros Metochites was profoundly aware of, Hellenes and Byzantines had the Greek language in common - in fact this is the fundamental bond that connects and makes these cultures inseparable, in spite of differences in religious belief.

Ein ikonographisches Kleinod der Kariye Camii, Grab E

Die Fresken der Wölbung über Grab E zeigen im Mittelteil eine Muttergottes mit dem Jesusknaben auf den Armen, und – was die Darstellung zu einer besonderen macht – am unteren Bildrand eine dritte Hand, deren ursprüngliche Verbindung mit einem menschlichen Körper durch eine hübsche Manschette angedeutet und zugleich verdeckt wird.

In Underwoods vierbändigem Werk zur Kariye Camii ist die Freske abgebildet und datiert. Das Thema des Bildes und sein Verhältnis zu vergleichbaren Darstellungen an anderen Orten ist hingegen bislang nicht kommentiert worden. Das aber ist, wie wir gleich sehen werden, notwendig, will man den kulturgeschichtlichen Wert des Bildes über der Grabnische recht erfassen.

Der ursprüngliche Sinn dieser Komposition ist gegeben durch die frühmittelalterlichen Versionen der Vita des Johannes Damascenus, die alle darin übereinstimmen, dass ihm aufgrund einer Verleumdung eine Hand abgeschlagen wurde, die dann zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt durch Eingreifen der Muttergottes wieder anwächst.

Die in neuerer Zeit am häufigsten besprochene "Dreihändige" von Johannes Damascenus ist bekanntlich eine Ikone, nämlich die Tricheirousa des Klosters von Chilandar auf dem Athos. Diese wurde neuerer Forschung zufolge in der Mitte des 14. Jhd.s übermalt, und ihr eigentliches Alter ist offenbar nicht mehr mit Sicherheit auszumachen. Auch in der jüngsten Publikation zu dieser Ikone (Bentchev 1993) ist jedenfalls bei ihrer kunstgeschichtlichen Einordnung nur von einigen anderen Ikonen und zwei mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien mit dem gleichen Thema die Rede, nicht aber vom Grab E der Kariye Camii.

Während einer raschen Durchsicht aller bekannten "Dreihändigen" (mit Bildern) dürfte jedoch die Bedeutung der Freske in Istanbul klar zu Tage treten: Was das Alter angeht, steht sie letzten Endes der zelebren Tricheirousa auf dem Athos kaum nach, und was die Wirkung auf ein grosses Publikum angeht, so dürfte sie ihr sogar überlegen sein, nicht zuletzt, weil sie – über die Jahrhunderte gesehen – sehr viel mehr Menschen zugänglich gewesen ist als die Tricheirousa, die nach einer kurzen Zeitspanne als "religiöses Plakat" zur wohlbehüteten Ikone des exklusiven Klosters von Chilandar wurde.

"The Iconographic Programme of the Katholikon of the Pantanassa
Monastery at Mistra"

The study of the iconographic programme of a Byzantine Church assumes special interest when referring to monuments of the last phase of the Byzantine Empire. This is the case of the Katholikon of the Pantanassa Monastery in Mistra. Here, John Phrangopoulos, identified as "protostrator and katholikos mesazon" of the Despotate of the Morea, namely the second in importance political personality after the Despot of Mistra, decides around 1430 to build a church dedicated both to the Virgin and Christ and intended by him to become his personal mausoleum. Though the funerary portrait of the patron has not survived, his grave is presumed to have been placed in the narthex.

Both, the architectural type as well as the iconographic programme of the galleries present a notable affinity with the church of Hodegetria (Aphendiko) in Mistra, dating to the first decades of the 14th century. However, in contrast to the apparent looseness of the iconographic programme of the Hodegetria, that of Pantanassa shows greater cohesion and can be decoded more easily. The dedicatory inscriptions, the placing of Christ's Anastasis in the arch over the bema, the Deesis formed with great subtlety with the figures represented both in the apse and in the galleries, together with the chapel (oratorium) in the north corner of the western gallery - all these attach a personal character to the iconographic programme, which reflects the innermost desires of the donor.

St. Pelagia, a cycle of her life in the church of St. Pelagia at Ano Viannos (Crete)

In the church of St. Pelagia in Ano Viannos, on the island Crete, dated 1360 A.D. a cycle of the life of the patron saint has been depicted. Although it consists of only three scenes, it is, by my knowledge, the most extensive cycle of this saint that has survived.

According to written sources which go back to 700 A.D. and various depictions, three different saints with the name Pelagia have existed, all three commemorated on October the 8th. They are: St. Pelagia of Tarsus, St. Pelagia of Antioch and St. Pelagia of Jerusalem. On the basis of these sources we are able to determine which of the three saints is represented in Ano Viannos.

The first of the three scenes in Ano Viannos, which we find in the left frame, shows St. Pelagia standing in the middle with a bishop at the left and a group of people at the right. An inscription at the top of the composition reads: St. Pelagia giving her belongings to the poor. On the basis of the inscription and the depiction we can identify this scene as a representation of the passage in the vita of St. Pelagia of Jerusalem, in which she gives her richness to bishop Nonnos, who, in his turn, gives it to the poor.

The second and central scene has no inscription. St. Pelagia is depicted seated and wears the same rich garment as in the previous scene. Next to her stands a servant and in front of her stand two figures, one with a musical instrument, the other with a round object. This scene probably represents St. Pelagia of Jerusalem before her conversion; it represents her while she is living in sin. This is therefore a representation of the text that precedes the previous scene and thus the artist has placed it chronologically wrong. Especially if we look at the third scene, at the right of this one.

This depiction shows St. Pelagia in her cell in Jerusalem while she is being visited by deacon James. It is a representation of the passage that immediately follows the first scene, in which St. Pelagia gives her belongings to the poor and for chronological reasons should have been represented next to this scene.

The reason that the artist has placed the scene with the sinful St. Pelagia chronologically wrong, between the two other scenes, could be that he did not know the text and probably used painter's manuals. Another reason can be that he wanted to show the sinful St. Pelagia flanked by two scenes in which she has converted into a servant of God. In both ways however, the artist wanted to emphasize the contrast between the sinful and the proper St. Pelagia and, more important, did he create the most extensive cycle of the life of St. Pelagia of Jerusalem as far as I know.

RESTORING THE LOST IDENTITIES
TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PROPHETS
IN THE DOME OF ST. GEORGE, SOFIA

In his classic study of medieval painting in Bulgaria, A. Grabar recognized the exceptional formal qualities of the prophets represented below the Pantokrator in the dome of St. George in Sofia.¹ He was, however, unable to identify any of the twenty-two figures painted during the second half of the fourteenth century as the third layer of decoration in this church, because of heavy damage to the surfaces of these frescoes. Scholars who subsequently addressed the problems of this ensemble contributed toward the identification of these prophets. For example, A. Filov, having read certain letters remaining from the name inscriptions of these figures, identified half of the prophets there.² M. Tsoncheva, in her monograph on this church and its paintings, followed Filov's findings in regard to the prophets from the Palaeologan period.³

Since the walls of St. George's church are a veritable fresco palimpsest, any deciphering of its unidentified components signifies a contribution to the knowledge of this monument, its frescoes, and the theological and formal connections with contemporaneous paintings elsewhere. Having personally examined the twenty-two figures in the dome of St. George after their cleaning, this author proposes to do the following in this study: to positively identify ten prophets in addition to those figures already recognized by Filov; to confirm ten out of eleven of Filov's identifications; and to correct a mistake he made (i.e., Amos instead of Moses). This will be accomplished through an iconographic comparison of prophets' head types and an analysis of the textual quotations the prophets carry. Furthermore, an explanation of the reasons for the selection of some particular Old Testament figures will be offered; some so far unidentified quotations still legible on some scrolls will be identified (e.g., texts held by Jonah, Habakkuk, Micah, and Elijah); and a comparison with the quotations inscribed on the scrolls of the same prophets in contemporaneous frescoes will be made to establish whether texts chosen in St. George represent common or exceptional quotations. Because the language on the prophets' scrolls in both St. George's and Serbian churches of the same period is Old Church Slavonic of the same recension, comparisons between prophet cycles in these monuments will be made in search of patterns common to all, with special attention to those numerically large groups of prophets preserved in the Morava School (e.g., Ravanica, Ljubostinja, Kalenić, and Resava). Elements common to the cycle at St. George and the cycles in the Serbian churches include the arrangement of prophets in a continuous frieze and certain formal consequences to the figures (St. George and Kalenić); the wind-blown scroll (St. George, Ljubostinja, and Kalenić) and its characteristic triangular fold at the curling end (St. George, Ravanica, Kalenić); the frequent depiction of prophets in the process of inscribing texts on their scrolls (found in all of the above mentioned churches); and finally, an animated and very expressive body language. All these elements imply the probable sharing of models and textual recension. Therefore, a study of this nature not only reestablishes the lost identities of the prophets in St. George's frieze in Sofia, but it contributes to a fuller understanding of certain formal and theological trends common in Balkan painting during the late Palaeologan period.

1. André Grabar, La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris, 1928, 246-248, pls. XXXV-XXXVI.

2. Bogdan Filov, Sofiiskata ts'rkva Sv. Georgi, Sofia, 1933, 52-54.

3. Mara Tsoncheva, Ts'rkvata "Sveti Georgi" v Sofia, Sofia, 1979, 50-51; 106; 112-113; 116; figs. 15-19; 22; 33; 60-79; 81-82; 101-109; 123-129.

A GNADENSTUHL IN CRETE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The only depiction of a Throne of Grace (*Gnadenstuhl*) that has survived in Byzantium appears on the triumphal arch of the sanctuary of the Church of the Virgin in the village of Roustika, Rethymnon, Crete. The church was painted in 1391 A.D. by Greek artists in Byzantine style and iconography. An exception is the *Gnadenstuhl* which is not a Byzantine iconographic theme, but a characteristic Western one: it has survived in the West from the first half of the twelfth century onwards. The *Gnadenstuhl* in Roustika is designated by inscription as *The Holy Trinity*. It substitutes the Philoxenia of Abraham, the latter being the usual scene with which the Holy Trinity was represented in Byzantium.

This single depiction in Crete offers important information on the artistic and cultural level of the time on the island. It is a significant and meaningful example which reveals a consequential Western influence on Byzantine art, among the comparatively few ones that have survived in Crete. The *Gnadenstuhl* obviously reached Crete through Venice, under the supremacy of which, we shall remember, the island stood from 1210-1669 A.D. It appeared, among other regions, in Northern Italy, painted in various works of art, included portable altar pieces, on which the inscription *Trinitas* was written.

The substitution of the Philoxenia of Abraham with a Western Holy Trinity naturally raises the question as to whether the parish of the church in Roustika was Roman Catholic. Before answering this question, one feels obliged to examine in which degree representations showing the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost denote a dogma; in other words: do this kind of representations show whether the Holy Ghost descends, according to the Orthodox creed, from the Father only or, according to the Roman Catholic doctrine, from the Father and the Son? Investigation reveals that neither the Western *Gnadenstuhl* nor the Eastern God the Father enthroned with Christ on his lap and the Holy Ghost in Christ's hands was meant to denote a dogma.

What is then conclusive for answering our question is the fact that a Western Holy Trinity is chosen above the usual Orthodox Philoxenia of Abraham. In a period in which the subject of the Holy Trinity was under heavy discussion between the Orthodox and the Catholic Greeks, especially in Crete, this choice of a Western Holy Trinity can only have been intentional. It is, therefore, not unthinkable that the parish of the Church of the Virgin in Roustika was either converted to Catholicism or consisted of Hellenized Venetians. The Latin name of the village undoubtedly betrays its Italian origin and the presence of a certain Latin element.

The paintings in Roustika also teach us that Roman Catholics used to decorate their churches in Crete in Byzantine style and iconography, occasionally with the exception of a few details with which they might underline their faith. Another lesson we learn is that the person who determined the choice of the *Gnadenstuhl* was the donor rather than the artist. The latter is excluded here, because we are dealing, as already stated, with a unique example in Byzantium and consequently no distribution of this subject in model books among Greek artists may be expected. The artist would, moreover, not dare to take the initiative and paint a Western representation for such an important theme.

Draginja Simic - Lazar

Les Apparitions du Christ Après sa Mort, A Kalenic (v. 1420):
Rayonnement d l'Art Constantinopolitain 5333

Mentionné par les quatre évangélistes, l'événement des Apparitions du Christ après sa mort ne semble pas souvent représenté dans les documents conservés de l'art byzantin. Cependant, certaines épisodes isolés relevés sur des objets d'art mineur et dans des mosaïques des hautes époques, témoignent de l'intérêt des iconographes pour ce thème, qui ne se constitue en cycle qu'à l'époque des Paléologues. Particulièrement présent dans la peinture des églises serbes, le cycle subit un déplacement progressif du naos vers l'abside, en s'incluant dans le programme iconographique rattaché à la liturgie, accentuant le caractère résurrectionnel de la mort du Christ.

Deux monuments datés de la fin de l'époque byzantine, Kalenić (Serbie) et Curtea de Argeş (Valachie), liés tous deux à l'art de Constantinople, présentent ce cycle selon un schéma identique. Ils permettent de supposer que cette variante du cycle, particulièrement rattachée à la liturgie, a été créée dans la capitale byzantine.

Text [Wall] Image : New iconographical and semiotic approaches to post-byzantine Moldavian churches

The church - as the mystical body of Christ - is a figure of Incarnation. Its walls separate the secular and sacred spaces, the outside and the inside, where the Liturgy is continuously performed.

The programmatic decoration of the external walls of post-byzantine Moldavian churches (XVI c.) seems to contradict any previous experience in the Byzantine tradition; it provokes a rupture in the comprehension of traditional architecture; a tension appears between spaces and in the very constitution of the wall. On these painted walls, one of the most paradoxical and unexplained representations is the fresco on the outside of the apse. Here we find the mystical Amnos (Lamb) flanked by Bishops. What was secret and hidden, inside the liturgical space of the altar, is here manifested outwardly. The separating wall seems to have been abolished.

It is a common matter of perception, in semiotic terms, that once painted a wall disappears: it is no more seen in its first materiality, as architectural body. The wall as such is thus "mis en abîme" in order that the image on the inside wall be extracted and made visible outside. This physical dissolution of the wall of the church, which should always be thought as the body of Christ, evokes the abolition of what St. Paul calls the "wall of separation" (Eph. 2,14).

The nature and the function of the texts in Old Church Slavonic, inscribed on the gospel-scrolls held by the Bishops, represented on the external walls of the apse and identified as secret prayers, are specifically to be explained in the context of Moldavian hesychasm.

The linguistic reform initiated by the hesychastic movement under the Patriarch Euthyme (14th century), with a lasting impact on the following centuries, concerns the nature and function of writing and the written text. In his "Treatise on Letters", Konstantin Kostenecky, Euthyme's disciple, insists that letters are themselves icons, and that Old Church Slavonic is a sacred language, like Hebrew and Greek. There is no distinction between the linguistic and the graphic sign. Text and image are one: they are both iconic.

From this perspective, the textual body of the inscriptions held by the Bishops are potentially iconic. Word and Icon are one: the Gospel. This phenomenon is particularly striking in light of the non-Slavic-speaking population of Moldavia to whom these frescoes are addressed and for whom they constitute a liturgical space.

La Grande Croix de la Première Iconostase de l'Eglise Reconstruite de St. Naum d'Ohrid

A la suite d'une analyse approfondie des données iconographiques, de style et historique de la Grande Croix dans l'église d'Ohrid des Petite Saints Anargyres, on est parvenu aux connaissances scientifique nouvelles suivantes:

1. La chronologie de la Grande Croix se situe à la fin du XVIe st. au début du XVIIe siècle.
2. A l'origine, la Croix installée dans l'église reconstruite de Naum, ou elle resta jusqu'avant l'an 1711.
3. Les qualité stylistique de la Croix son en corelation stylistiques étroites avec la fresque de la facade du tribilon de l'église de Naum.
4. L'étude de la croix confirme la chronologie déjà déterminée des premières deux phases de reconstruction de l'église de Naum.
5. Les présentations du st. Naum et den sainte Archanges dévient l'opinion des investigateurs précédents qu'au XVIIe siècle est arrivé à une métonimie de la dédication primitive du temple.

Lev Lifshitz

Notes on the Programme of the Murals of St. Sophia in Novgorod 5341
1108

The murals of St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod (1108/1109) are known in the History of Russian art for a long time. The preserved fragments of the painting (in central dome and altar apse) were well described by V. Myasoedov in 1915 and by V. Lazarev in 1969. Both stylistic and iconographic analyses of all parts of the ensemble were undertaken.

However less attention was paid to the general conception of the murals. The fragments of the painting preserved in situ as well as compositions copied by V. Suslov, while the restoration in 1893, show a clear connection between the system of the murals and the liturgy, mainly the prayers of the Small and Great Entrance (the scenes of The Entry into Jerusalem and The Adoration of the Magos and The Holy Women at Christ's Tomb in the west vault). There was especially stressed a theme of the charismatic inheritance of the apostolic mission by the Church Fathers. This idea of a successive descent of the Divine Grace is illustrated by the scenes representing such subjects as the Ascension and the Mission of Apostles in the bema vault, figures of Polikarp from Smirna, Karp from Fiaticra and patriarches of Constantinople Anatolij and German in the middle register and two ranks of the bishops figures in the lower register altar apse.

This ideas entirely correlated with the tendencies, which revealed in the byzantine monumental painting already the end of the 11-th century.

Olga Etinhof (Moscow)

Notes on the Programme of the Murals
of the Transfiguration Cathedral in Miroz Monastery in Pskov

The iconographic programme of the Miroz murals in Pskov of the 1140es includes many narrative cycles which are arranged in several registers. Those cycles in details embrace all the principal themes of the christian cosmos, christian history and christian church. We'll dwell on the theme of the Deesis distinctly related here with the eucharistic symbolism and with Intercessio in particular and also with the theme of apostolic mission included in the context of the Deesis compositions.

The Deesis composition is repeated there several times. Christ, Mary and John the Baptist are represented in the apse conch and also in the Ascention in the dome and drum. The Christ Emmanuel, Mary and two archangels are located in the medallions on the arch vaults. Christ and the Virgin Paraclesis are depicted on the east pillars forming the two-figured Deesis. And finally the Transfiguration in the bema vault is likened to the prophetic Deesis row. Deesis in the conch is comparatively rare in the byzantine programmes. Usually it is explained by the scholars in the context of the funeral or eschatological symbolism or of the east christian and provincial influences. Christ in the conch of the Miroz Cathedral is represented sitting on the throne covered by the syndon like the altar. He is not only the Pantocrator but also the sacrificial lamb and the priest in the Eucharist. Deesis with the Christ Emmanuel also confirms the eucharistic symbolism. The presence of Mary and John the Baptist in the conch corresponds to their commemoration in Intercessio and during the Proskomidie. Such a eucharistic commemorative symbolism related to the parts of Prosphora was the main meaning of this Deesis. The angels and archangels in the medallions in the arch vaults and in the Ascention correspond to the image of their devotion in the Celestial liturgy.

The Transfiguration in the bema is accompanied by the previous episode - the procession to the Mount Tabor. The figures of Christ with the apostles twice represented on the bema walls are as if included in the Deesis in the conch, as well as the apostles in the Ascention in the drum. Such a decoration of the apse conch corresponds to the accentuated theme of the apostolic mission expressed in the scenes of the Christological cycle on the walls and vaults in the naos and in 13 scenes from Acts in the north-western camera.

Tatyana Samoylova

The Theme of the "Great Entrance" in Russian Monumental Painting of the second half of the XVI Century.

Moscow Kremlin Arcangel Cathedral, the burial place of Rjurik dynasty, was decorated with frescoes in 1564 - 1565, during the reign of Ivan IV. A hundred years later it was repainted. The make clear that the new ensemble repeats the ancient decorative programme. This reason enables us to consider it as a monument of ancient Russian art of the XVI c.

One of the main aspects of the semantics or Arcangel Cathedral's decorative system is a liturgical "Great Entrance" theme, which is showed through the coordination of altar composition "Divine Wisdom" and the portrait gallery of Russian dukes buried in this cathedral. They are depicted as if they were participants in the liturgical ritual of the "Great Entrance" according to the Byzantine tradition (In spite of the circumstance that in reality only a Byzantine emperor could take part in that procession). Several icons of the XVI c. and especially frescoes of the cathedral in Svijazsk, where the altar composition includes the portraits of Ivan the Terrible and mitropolitan Macary reveals to us, that the "Great Entrance" 's subject was of great importance for this period. Such kinds of compositions promoted the gloryfying of the Russian tzar as a new emperor of the orthodox world. Indeed, we know that Ivan the Terrible's general idea was to establish imperial status of Moscovia, that is why he displayed a keen interest in the rituals of Byzantine court and particularly paid attention to adjusting them to Russian tradition.

DEVELOPMENT OF BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHIC TRADITION
IN UKRAINIAN ANTIMENSIA OF THE XVII-th CENTURY

The iconographic type, which had appeared in Byzantine art of the XII-XIII centuries underwent a long and rich evolution. Greeks called it *η εἰκὼν ταπεινωθεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Latins - *Imago Pietatis*. It is represented on a number of articles connected with liturgical sacrament of Eucharist among which there are ukrainian antimensia of the XVII century.

The earliest of them is Jerusalem Patriarch Feofan's antimension (1620) (Kyiv, Museum Society of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, T-5224, silk, tempera, 35x50 cm) discovered in 1978 during archeological excavations in the Near Caves of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. Its composition represented an image of Sorrowful Christ, standing, with crossed hands on the breast, in Sepulchre on a background of the Cross is similar to the earliest well-known in the world art antimention of this iconographic type, origin from Skopie (1590) (Гошевъ Ив. АНТИМИНСЪТЪ.- Софія, 1925.- Табл. V.). Among the ukrainian icon-painting the icon of the XVI century from the Staryi Sambir is a similar analogy to the composition of these antimensia (Lviv, National Museum in Lviv, i-1570, wood, tempera, 73,5x64x2,5 cm).

Kyiv antimension of 1620 succeeds to the antimensia of Bishops which had been consecrated by Jerusalem Patriarch Feofan in Kyiv in 1620, the Bishop of Volodymyr Jezekiil Kurtsevich (1620) (It was lost, linen, woodcut), the Bishop of Holm Paisij Cherkavski (1627) (Lviv, National Museum in Lviv, Гд-179, linen, tempera, 43x38 cm).

The variant of Bizantine prototype was an image of Christ standing in Sepulchre on a background of the Cross with hands brought down and moved apart. This variant of the type *Imago Pietatis* which appeared in Italian art in the XIV-XV centuries and was adopted by the Cretan painters at the edge of the XV-XVI centuries (Nicholaos Tzafouris and others) must have come to Ukraine from Greece. It is represented by antimensia of Kyiv Metropolitan Iov Boretski (1621) (It was lost, linen, woodcut), Bishop of Lutsk Afanasij Pusyna (1633) (Lviv, National Museum in Lviv, Гд-93, linen, woodcut, 38x47 cm) and others.

The ukrainian antimensia of the type of *Imago Pietatis* of the second part of the XVII century illustrate the increased influence of the Western Europe iconographic tradition.

Irina Shalina

The image of St.Nicolas in the Funeral, Liturgical and iconographical tradition.

It is a well-known fact that the icon of St.Nicolas of Myra gained in Russian medieval art and iconography a particularly wide distribution, which has no equal in any other country of the Christian world and which reflects the unique development in Russia of the cult of this saint and of the associated traditions of his worship. This phenomena of Russian religious and artistic creation has not yet been granted its explanation. Until now no attention has been paid to one of the most important functions of the icon of St.Nicolas in Russian liturgical practice - its role in the funeral tradition and in church memorial services.

It's especially important to single out the instances of churches and monasteries intended to serve as tombs for their donors and ktetors. The niches of the areosolia and the lower parts of the walls, to which the sarcophagi were adjoined, were often decorated with murals of the Deisis or scenes depicting the veneration of Christ or the Mother of God, in which the depicting of St.Nicolas occupied an important position. It has been possible to determine several icons which served in ancient times as tomb decorations. These were above all the Anastasis Pskov icons, whose iconography is supplemented with the Deisis or the saints row, where once again St.Nicolas is granted the main role. Ancient Russian works of literature bear witness to the fact that man, contemplating death, turned to prayer to St.Nicolas, and that his icon would be brought to the dying man before the last communion. They also tell of eucharistic sacrifices made on the Days of Remembrance of the saint in temples dedicated to him. Consequently, the image of Nicolas appeared as a pledge of eternal remembrance and the resurrection of human souls, the Kingdoms of Heaven acquisition of these souls and furthermore was connected with the notions of repentance and intercession.

The St. Nicolas Life may account for these conceptions, full as it is of numerous miracles: The salvation of the innocent from death, the resurrection of the dead and forgiveness of sinners. The name of Nicolas "he who is equal to the victory" had particular importance - it was compared with the name of Christ as the conqueror of death. All the texts of worship gathered in honour of the saint are shot through with such thoughts.

In our view, the reason for the consecration of temples burial places and the aforementioned particularities of their decoration

was a particular funeral service joining together, on one hand memorial liturgies for the deceased, lites, services for the dead according to the Octoichos, and on the other hand, weekly prayers and sung services in St.Nicolas' honour created according to the Octoichos and funeral meals in temples bearing his name. Such devices gained a particular significance in private temples built according to a vow on the personal initiative of the ktetor for his future burial. For this reason the iconographical programme of the frescoes above the burial places was, as it were, a programme of his personal salvation and thus incorporated the depiction of St.Nicolas, whose worship in Rus was linked inseparably to the idea of the resurrection of the righteous. This particular feature of the Russian religious consciousness possesses nonetheless a great many parallels in the monuments of the Byzantine world.

Commentaries of Canon-Tables

Beginning from the VIIIth century the Armenian "Commentaries of canon-tables" appear as an interpretative literary genre presenting the art theory of the decoration of Eusebian canon-tables (the aesthetic, symbolic and iconographic aspects).

According to the "Commentaries" everything in the world is divided into two parts: "necessities and enjoyments", i.e., what is necessary for life, as the light, air, earth, and goods stemming from them, and that, which gives pleasure and softness the feeling (wine, fruits, spices, delicacies, bright colours, pleasant sounds etc.).

The canon-table decoration is endowed with four colours: red, green, black, and blue. Sometimes additional colours are mentioned. Each colour of the arches has its symbol: the black is mentioned as "true existence", as a Divine symbol, the red on the black - as the blood of the victims. The blue arch between the red and black concentric arches symbolizes the spiritual (the Divine) in corporeal life etc. The purple in the first canon-table is devoted to almighty God, the Holy Trinity. Green and black in the second and third canon-tables signify the medium and the last sacred hierarchies of heaven, green showing their immortality, and black - God's unattainability for them. In the fourth canon-table (earthly Paradise) the blue and black as colours of mourning dominate for Adam and his sons bereft of Paradise. The red is added in the fifth and sixth canon-tables ("Here the wine colour of the columns signifies Melchisedec's priesthood as Christ's symbol"). The seventh and eighth canon-tables express the brightness of the Moses' temple. The ninth canon-table signifies Solomon's temple and it is more "ornated in hues". The tenth canon-table "that is opposite the ninth" is the most "ornated, sumptuous and bright", "illuminated in pink with red", where black and blue are almost missing. The gold figures as the substance of heaven as well, as the red, green, black, blue correspondent to the four elements.

There is also rich symbolism of the floral, animal and architectural motifs. The symbolic interpretation of the numbers is connected with the realities of the Holy Scripture.

The number four means the number of the colours of canon-tables' decoration, also the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, as well as the "indivisible" divine Trinity. It means also the four components of the human body, according to Nemesius of Emessa. Four plants are represented in the canon-tables etc. The number ten - the number of the Eusebian canons - has also a lot of meanings.

The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany

It has been customary to declare it impossible to determine the origins of the Christian Feast of Epiphany, celebrated on the sixth of January. In the period of the martyrs there is no trace of it to be found, and scholars have taken great pains to show that the feast of Epiphany developed from the Gnostic feast celebrated on January 6th. This theory is based on the writings of Clement of Alexandria and St. Epiphanius by combining the information they give. If, however, we treat them separately, it seems that there happen to be two different feasts on the same day: the Gnostic Coreum and the Christian Epiphany, which are in competition with each other.

In Judaism there were three main feasts which involved the obligation of pilgrimage to the Jerusalem temple. Two of them, Passover and Pentecost, have continued in the Christian Church, through their themes have been elaborated. The Feast of Tabernacles, which is said to be the greatest of all celebrations, seems not to have any continuation in Christianity. In the early Christian Church there were also three main feasts. According to the Didascalia Apostolorum, these were Passover, Pentecost and Epiphany. St. Ephraem the Syrian (306-373) also states that Epiphany was the greatest of all feasts. This leads one to wonder whether Epiphany has something to do with the Feast of Tabernacles.

In the Mishnah we have late evidence of the centrality of God's glory descending to the earth in the tradition of the Feast of Tabernacles. From here it is only a small step to the idea that God descended upon the earth in the person of Jesus Christ when he was born at Bethlehem. Thus the first Jewish Christians could celebrate the *Sukkoth* as a type of the birth of the Messiah, and it would be the predecessor of our Epiphany.

The Gospel of John and the Book of Revelation mention *Sukkoth* in a way that also alludes to its significance in the primitive Jewish-Christian Church.

The themes of the feast occur explicitly in the fourth century: the birth and baptism of Christ, the adoration of the Magi and the miracle at the Cana wedding. The themes are closely intertwined, and I would combine them in line with the following ideas arising from early Jewish-Christian thought. The birth of the Saviour-Messiah in Bethlehem, to which the Magi from the Orient testify, is of no value for an ordinary man unless he or she receives baptism which opens to him or her admittance into the Kingdom of the Messiah. The baptism of a believer is rooted in Christ's baptism. It is performed only once in a person's life, but it has dimensions reaching beyond physical death. The earthly circumstances of baptized Christians were occasionally difficult. They had to take into account the possibility of persecution, even death for one's faith. Thus they needed to remember and be reminded of their baptism to encourage them to remain in the covenant. The first solemn day for commemoration of one's baptism is probably Epiphany, the Feast of the birth and baptism of Christ.

In the piety of antiquity the crucial point was salvation. How could a man free himself from the bondage of sin and evil, conquer death and live forever? St. Paul took pains to assure his readers that a new way was offered to all people. They needed to believe in Jesus as Messiah and Son of God, because He had conquered the power of sin and death, and publicly to declare their faith by receiving baptism. Afterwards nothing else was required but to live in this status by the power of the Messiah. Surely this kind of salvation needed a liturgical celebration, and this took place at Epiphany, the feast of the appearance of the Messiah and the salvation of mankind.

The celebration of ideas, not of historical events, was the way that brought along the great Christian feasts, and the leaders of the Church needed no model from the pagan or Gnostic world, since the Jewish background of Christianity was sufficient to enable people to understand the celebrations.

In 1895, Koch and Stiglmayr definitively identified the corpus of theological works claiming to have been written by Dionysios the Areopagite, a disciple of the apostle Paul (Acts 17) as pseudepigraphic and fraudulent. Since then many scholars have attempted to penetrate the fraud of the corpus dionysiacum (= CD) by identifying its author--alas, in vain. More recently, therefore, other scholars (e. g., Vanneste; Roques; Rorem) have set aside the question of the fraud in order to examine as it were phenomenologically the teachings and tradition of the CD. --This communication, however, takes its departure from a critique of this phenomenological orientation on lines laid down by Wolfgang Speyer (Die Literarische Fälschung im Altertum [1971]). It argues that full sense of the CD lies not in its manifest text but in the mind of its author, whom we can hope to comprehend only if we analyze the fraud in which he both expounds and conceals his true opinions. Then, in order to propose new and better ways of approaching the fraud of the CD, we readdress the fraud itself, and, in particular, the motives of the fraud and its strategy.

First, then, its motives. The analysis of any fraud must begin by setting two questions: first, the question, what does the author of the fraud want us to believe? and second, what does he wish to conceal? At the end of this analysis, a third question arises. If we step, as it were, behind the fraud, we may ask: in constructing his fraud, what problems is the author of the fraud attempting to resolve? Here, however, we address only the first two questions. --The answer to the first question: Pseudo-Dionysios wishes us to adopt a religious (and specifically Byzantine Christian Neoplatonist) metaphysics, in which, on lines laid down in the theurgies of Iamblichos and Proklos, the ascent of the soul to its maker is accomplished in a liturgical mystagogy. The answer to the second question this communication derives from an hypothesis advanced by the present writer in another setting: what Pseudo-Dionysios wishes to conceal is a Christology considered heretical in his times: the teaching of the (as the times believed) Origenist πρωτόκτιστοι (Kyrillos of Skythopolis, The Life of Sabas 197f [ESchwartz]), for whom Jesus was a divine figure other than the Son of God--a figure which, I have argued, Pseudo-Dionysios surreptitiously inserts into his Christian Neoplatonist metaphysics.

With this we turn to the strategy of Pseudo-Dionysios's fraud in the CD, the way in which he proposed to persuade his readers of the truth of his theology. The basis of that strategy is universally recognized: Pseudo-Dionysios not only claims that his teaching stems from the apostolic age of Christianity, but then proceeds to a radical (but completely fraudulent) reconstruction of the apostolic age and its tradition. We describe this reconstruction as, in effect, a scenario, and identify its three (3) principal elements. First, the fons et origo of the apostolic tradition: Jesus himself, a heavenly being descended into human form, whose deeds and words as recorded in the gospels of the New Testament seem completely irrelevant to the scenario of the CD, for which he neither acts nor speaks, but simply is. Second, the group of Jesus's disciples and apostles, a spiritual elect intuitively inspired as it were by the vision of Jesus. Third, the transmission of the apostle's vision of Jesus to the Christian community, a vision which the apostles and their disciples (including, of course, Pseudo-Dionysios's Dionysios) appropriately and authoritatively interpret in the divine words of the scriptures and the divine acts of the liturgy.

Finally, time permitting, we locate the unity of these three elements Pseudo-Dionysios's account of the divine theurgies; which, we argue, are his Christian adaptation of the pagan theurgy of, above all, Proklos. Exempli gratia, we shall suggest that Pseudo-Dionysios constructs his Jesus on the model of the σύμβολον of pagan theurgy; a theurgy incorporated into Neoplatonic metaphysics, above all by Proklos in his teaching on henads. Then, on the model of Proklos's teaching on the διττὸν πλῆθος produced by the One (In Parmenidem VI 1062.24f Cousin; cp. in loc. LWesterinck and HDSaffrey in Proklos, Théologie platonicienne III pp xlvff Iviii), Pseudo-Dionysios elevates theurgy into precisely that particular mode of divine activity (rooted in the Trinity) in which the transcendent Jesus appears in human form. --Our analysis of the scenario of the fraud of the CD has therefore returned us to the analysis of its motives, with which we began.

L'APOCALYPSE DE LA THÉOTOKOS DANS L'HISTOIRE DE LA PENSÉE

L'Apocalypse de la Théotokos, connue dans des versions grecques, syriaques, arabes, éthiopiennes, arméniennes, géorgiennes et slaves, en dépit de la place importante qu'elle occupe dans le corpus apocryphique du monde byzantin, attend toujours son édition critique et reste relativement peu étudiée du point de vue des corrélations entre les différentes traditions manuscrites et ses aspects littéraires et doctrinaux.

Les recherches comparées de ces derniers temps en ce domaine permettent de remettre en question le regard porté sur cet apocryphe lorsqu'il est considéré comme secondaire, tardif, de peu d'intérêt (M. R. James) et habituellement réduit à une tentative d'intimidation des pécheurs par les représentations de l'enfer et de ses châtiments.

La plupart des éditeurs de manuscrits, n'ayant disposé que de recensions tardives de cette Apocalypse, ont été enclins à la dater des VIII^e-XI^e siècles. Mais déjà I. Franko admettait que l'origine de l'apocryphe pouvait remonter au VI^e siècle. En faveur de la probabilité de suivre l'histoire de l'Apocalypse dans les plus anciens contextes témoigne la recension de la Dormition signalée par A. Wenger (Vlat. 4) dont le titre est «Αποκάλυψις καὶ μετάστασις» et qui commence par ces mots «Αὕτη ἡ βιβλος τῆς μεταστάσεως Μαρίας καὶ ἕπερ αὐτῇ ἀπεκαλύφθη ἐν πέντε γράμμασιν». Cet incipit indique qu'il existe une relation entre ce texte et la tradition syriaque des « cinq livres » et des « six livres » (dont dérivent aussi les manuscrits arabes et éthiopiens) où la Dormition (Transitus) a toujours été liée à l'Apocalypse. En s'appuyant sur cette relation, S. Mimouni a supposé que dans la tradition grecque l'Apocalypse a été aussi durant un certain temps liée à la Dormition et qu'elle est apparue au plus tard au VI^e siècle ou à la fin du V^e siècle.

Le fait qu'on puisse rapprocher la tradition grecque de l'Apocalypse de la Théotokos avec la tradition des « cinq livres » et des « six livres » trouve sa confirmation dans la tradition slave où le plus ancien manuscrit de l'Apocalypse (ГБЛ. Тр.-Сеpr. 12) du XII^e siècle était intitulé (d'après la reconstruction de I. Sreznevskij) « Слово о покои всего мѣра ». Alors que par d'autres traits cette version slave remonte à la version grecque BHG 1050, son titre exprimant l'idée principale de l'Apocalypse correspond en même temps au début du Transitus des « cinq livres » qui consiste en une invocation répétitive du Repos divin.

Qu'il soit probable qu'une relation ancienne existe entre l'Apocalypse de la Théotokos grecque et la Dormition, dont les catégories théologiques d'après les observations de B. Bagatti sont du II^e siècle, permet d'essayer de comprendre les traits doctrinaux de l'Apocalypse qui ne trouvent pas d'explication dans les contextes tardifs, en partant de l'hypothèse de ses références à la pensée de l'époque des II^e-III^e siècles. Il s'agit avant tout des persistantes demandes de la Théotokos de faire cesser les tourments des pécheurs aux enfers. L'intention générale de l'apocryphe révèle une forte tendance implicite à la conjonction de l'idée du Repos pour « tout le monde » avec idée de l'apocatastase. Sous différentes formes explicites, le même niveau de conjonction de ces deux idées se retrouve dans la doctrine de Clément d'Alexandrie exposée dans sa polémique avec les philosophes païens (Strom. II, 22), chez Origène dans sa discussion avec les gnostiques (Comm. in ev. Joann. XIII, 46, 299) et dans les cercles des gnostiques eux-mêmes.

L'origine probablement très ancienne de l'Apocalypse de la Théotokos est affirmée par le comput quomranien du repos temporaire accordé aux pécheurs à la fin de l'apocryphe et par certains autres traits significatifs transmis par les différentes traditions manuscrites malgré plusieurs simplifications et adaptations tardives.

Iconoclasm After Theophilos' Death – Who Was Interested?

Hardly any mss of the iconoclast period survive, even iconodule, as against repeated references to scriptoria, and copying of mss by Plato, Methodius etc. Nonetheless much information *en transparence*.

No source for the first Iconoclasm is comparable to Theodore Studite's correspondence, but even so accidental information is considerable.

The Byzantine Empire, even Constantinople, was not divided into two opinions, iconoclasts and -dules.

However, most of the population almost certainly was nominally on one of the two sides - if only cheering of the Emperor for iconoclasts. As for iconodules, the Emperor's personal aides might be crypto-dules, as the denunciation of the father of St. Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople (806-815), shows. But confessed iconodules were in fact tolerated, conditionally on their abstaining from militancy, and, in the second Iconoclasm, accepting communion.

The more famous confessors are often suggestive sources. The father of Nikephoros was imperial secretary but, according to this son's life, was denounced to Constantine V as an image venerator, refused to go over to the other side, and lost his office. His son also began a career of *asecretis*. Does the extraordinary imprecision and hopping forward and backward in time of this part of the *Life* suggest the author may be dodging round the fact that he obtained this office under an iconoclast emperor? The more so as para 9 runs: *The Emperor and the imperial court held him for a divine ornament and more of a credit to them than Demosthenes to Philip*. Very strange ordering of the beginning of this *Life* (cf. Stephen Junior's). Nor does the account of his resignation in 815 really convince that his attachment to images was such as to make collaboration with iconoclasts any more unthinkable than in his youth.

How well founded is the lurid colour still recognised to 'iconoclast persecution'? (Lachnodrakon, painful death of St. Stephen Junior, half a dozen other such incidents, including the Chalce affair).

No other data on Constantine's attitude to monasticism are more interesting than those on his attempts to win Stephen over to his side.

Why did Irene & Theodora restore icons?

Why were icons restored?

And what about St. Theodore Studite?

Natela Vachnadze, Karlo Kutsia

The Newly Discovered Apostle and the Problem of Christianization of Byzantium

Giorgi the Athonite (11th c.) carried out his missionary activities on his way from Mt. Athos to Constantinople in the village of "Livizdia" belonging to a monastery, presumably, a Georgian monastery situated on Mt. Athos. The written source "The Life of St. Father Giorgi" gives a detailed description of the place which had never been visited by any saint before, it also provides information about the ethnic belonging of the population of "Livizdia" - "...Borghals, who are called Slavs"; the source also describes their idol.

Christianization of any country and of any nation is a lengthy and complicated process, this is attested to by the example of Giorgi the Athonite.

According to the thesis accepted by the scholars, spreading of Christianity in Slav regions had been completed by the beginning of the 10th c., though christening of separate groups of population, mainly living in almost inaccessible places, continued throughout the 10th c. (O.V. Ivanova). This period may be expanded chronologically: the process continued in the 11th c., as well, though christianization of the greater majority of the Slav population of the Empire was completed in the 10th c., in some places, e.g. in the mountainous regions of Peloponnesus, there still were separate cases of conversion into Christianity.

Caren F. Calendine
The Recognition of Saints in the Middle Byzantine Period

6121

Despite what is now an enormous body of secondary literature on hagiography, the cult of the saints, and Byzantine religious practices, the question of how saints were actually recognized and glorified by the Byzantine Church has received little attention beyond a general recognition of its grassroots character. It is in fact possible to discern several elements within this process, including the writing of the *vita*, the painting of the icon, the liturgical (and hymnographic) recognition of the saint, the placement of the saint on the church calendar(s), the miracles performed by the saint and by the saint's relics along with related acts of pilgrimage, and the patronage network which encouraged the development of the cult.

This paper presents a working model for understanding the interactions among these elements based upon the glorification of two saints of the Middle Byzantine period, Mary the Younger and Nikon Metanoiete.

Les deux traditions théologiques dans les "Dialogues"
de Nicéas de Maronée.

L'oeuvre de Nicéas de Maronée n'a pas été l'objet d'une étude approfondie malgré son rôle important dans les efforts de reconcilier entre eux les deux conceptions diverses, grecque et latine, de la procession du Saint-Esprit. Au XII^e siècle il a élaboré un système théologique entier, destiné à approuver l'identité essentielle des formules grecque (*διὰ τὸ ὕιον*) et latine (de Filio). Son argumentation a été adoptée par les "unionistes" postérieurs, comme le patriarche Jean Veccos, le cardinal Bessarion et les autres. L'opinion courante des historiens voit dans leurs pensée une espèce de la "latinophrônésis" théologique. Mais la lecture attentive de l'oeuvre écrite de Nicéas de Maronée ne confirme pas cette idée. L'analyse des notions fondamentales et des arguments de Nicéas en comparaison avec les démonstrations classiques latines au faveur de "Filioque" (comme celles-ci de st. Augustin et de st. Anselme) fait évident, que ce théologien grec n'avait pratiquement aucune connaissance des idées, usées par les penseurs occidentaux. D'autre part, si même quelques traits de son argumentation peuvent être rapprochés de la tradition latine, sa terminologie comme ses méthodes reproduisent en général la manière théologique, caractéristique pour les auteurs byzantins. La triadologie de Nicéas de Maronée, qui a fourni l'instrumentaire nécessaire aux autres tentatives de la réunion de l'Eglise, appartient par ses options principales à la tradition théologique grecque.

Die Lehre des Gregorios Sinaites in ihrer Relation zur Dogmatik und zur Wissenschaftlichkeit im Sinne der Aufklärung

Ein gewisser Georgios von Pelagonia, wahrscheinlich Bischof von Pelagonia (Bitola) im Machtbereich Stefan Dušans und mit Gregorios Akindynos identisch, be-rief sich auf die Ermittlungen des Barlaam und warf den Hesychasten vor, sie hielten den Verstand für etwas Materielles, das auf dem Atem schwebend durch die Nase einge- zogen werde, und lehrten, daß der Verstand, wenn er einen Zustand wie Adam vor dem Sündenfall erlangt habe und vom Hl. Geist erfüllt sei, das Seiende, das Vergangene und das Zukünftige erschau- e und unter dieser Bedingung durch die Lektüre der hl. Schriften keinen weiteren Vorteil gewinne, es auch nicht notwendig habe, an den göttlichen Mysterien, am lebenspendenden Fleisch des Heilands und dem für uns vergossenen Blut, teilzunehmen. Der Inhalt all dieser Vorwürfe läßt sich anhand der asketischen Schriften des Gregorios Sinaites verifizieren, abgesehen von der Prophetengabe der Hesychasten, die bei ihm nicht ausdrücklich genannt ist. Der Verstand wird ihm zufolge durch die Einatmung gehalten, aber nur zum Teil, dann verstreut er sich wieder. Andererseits aber siedelt er den Verstand im ἡγεμονικόν an und dieses wiederum im Gehirn und rät an, ihn von dort aus ins Herz hinabzupressen in einer sozusagen somatischen Deduktion. Wir sollten mit Gregorios' erkenntnistheoretischen Lehren nicht allzu streng verfahren. Ein Großteil der Philosophen siedelt alles Geistige mit Vorliebe außerhalb von Raum und Zeit an und geht damit wahrscheinlich noch sehr viel mehr in die Irre. Im Alltagssprachgebrauch sagen auch wir: „Er ist mit seinen Gedanken woanders“, obwohl das eigentlich un- korrekt ist. Die Gedanken bleiben am selben Ort und richten sich nur auf ein anderes Objekt. Christus „steht“ den Hesychasten im Zustand der Vollendung, wie der Sinaite sagt, bereit „zu jeglicher Wonne, ohne gegessen, geopfert oder jemals ver- zehrt zu werden“. Bezeichnend für Gregorios ist auch, daß er niemals Priester ge- wesen ist. Die Abhängigkeit des Gläubigen von der Schrift bedauerte er unter Beru- fung auf Ioannes Chrysostomos: „Wir sollten“ ... „der Hilfe von der Schrift her“ ... „nicht bedürfen, sondern einfach so gottgelehrt sein“. Die Spiritualität des Sinaiten erweist sich als eine Überwindung der engen Grenzen des Christentums auf der Grundlage des Christentums selber. Sie ist zwar mit der Aufklärung in unserem Sin- ne nicht gleichzusetzen, ist aber im Kern nicht wissenschaftsfeindlich. Gregorios hat dem Wissenschaftler seiner Zeit, den er „Philologen“ nennt, die Untersuchung der Gesetze der Schöpfung zugewiesen. Eine intellektuellenfeindliche Strömung hat sich erst bei der Verteidigung seiner Lehren als orthodox angebahnt.

Bei einer Untersuchung der Gelehrten und „Humanisten“, die im späten By- zanz einen Namen hatten, fällt auf, daß keiner von ihnen in den orthodoxen Osten ausgewandert ist. Gregorios aber wanderte nach Bulgarien aus, und seine Opuscula sowie die Vita, die sein Schüler Kallistos ihm widmete, haben in altslavischer Über- setzung Verbreitung gefunden. Hat Byzanz in der Lehre des Sinaiten dem Osten sein Bestes gegeben?

Byzantine Theological Bases of the Orthodox Church and Future.

- 1) The present paper represents a continuation of the report entitled: "The Gelati Academy and the End of Greek Philosophy", presented at the International Bizantiologists' Symposium held at the Tbilisi State University in 1979. It dealt with the problem of interrelation between the creator of the Biblical world and His icon-man created by Him (self).
- 2) According to the present paper the Byzantine Orthodox theology failed to explain the controversies existing between the Biblical creator and His icon-man created by Him. The interpretation of the icon of Biblical God was, in fact, ecclesiastical teaching about man, which become the cornerstone for the whole Christian-ecclesiastical ethics.
- 3) The Christian-orthodox ethics Based on vague theological preconditions, church, as regulator and mechanism of ruling Christian life, turned out to be, in fact estranged and separated from the ethics and cultural norms of modern man, from international ethical principles of protecting human rights and dignity.
- 4) According to the present report the source and the key to the theoretical explanation of estrangement between Orthodox Church and our contemporaneity lies in the Byzantine-theological bases. It consists in disclosing the controversies existing between the Biblical creator and His created icon and a new approach to this problem. In fact, we are standing now at the gate of new theology and the end of the ecclesiastical dictatorship of Byzantine theological thought.

GABRIEL SEVEROS' *SYNTAGMATION* AND ITS UKRAINIAN TRANSLATION (OSTRIH 1603)

By Gabriel Severos' advent to the metropolitan cathedral of Monembasia (with the residence in Venice) in 1577 begins a new period in the development of Greek post-Byzantine theology called by Gerhard Podskalsky as *religious humanism*.

Gabriel Severos was one of the most outstanding theologians of the modern Greek church. His dogmatic treatise on the seven Sacraments entitled *Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ μυστηρίων. συντεθέν παρὰ τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας Κὺ Γαβριὴλ τοῦ Σεβήρου* was written in the late 16th century and first published in 1600 at the printing shop of Antonio Pinelli in Venice.

The treatise begins with a dedication devoted to his native Monembasia. In the introductional part the following items are discussed: division of the Holy Sacraments, etymology and different meanings of the word *μυστήριον*, definition of the sacraments, their number, differences, establishment, and order. After the introduction, follow seven main chapters. Each of them is devoted to the certain Sacrament and consists of sections where the essence, names, origin, two components (substance and form) are explained in detail. The work contains a lot of quotations from Old and New Testament, Eastern and Western patristic, Byzantine theologians, philisophers, historians, and from the resolutions of church councils.

Severos' *Syntagmation* was well known both to Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics. It was reprinted several times (Venice 1691, Târgoviște 1715, Venice 1778). Some Latin translations are known as well. In 1603 the treatise was translated into Middle Ukrainian (so called "prosta mova") in the monastery of the Holy Trinity in the village of Derman' near Ostrih by hieromonk Cyprian, native of Ostrih. He was an expert in Greek, educated in Venice and Padua, known as intermediary between the patriarch Meletios I Pegas and the Orthodox Ukrainians in their relations.

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries Ostrih was the most important cultural, scholarly, and educational centre of Ukraine. A Greek-Latin-Slavonic school using West European educational patterns was established there ca. 1576. At the same time a scholarly circle started its activities. Circle members edited the entire Slavonic Bible and printed it in a printing shop directed by Ivan Fedorov. They also made new translations from Greek and revised some old Slavonic versions of Byzantine and para-Byzantine texts.

What was the reason of appearance of *Syntagmation* in Ukrainian translation? After the Church union of Brest (1596) when the relations between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics were strained, and polemic between them was on upsurge, the Orthodox needed some strong arguments for their position. Applying to the old Christian and Byzantine authors was already out-moded. So, Ukrainian Orthodox scholars preferred to use some contemporary achievements of the Greek theology. The choice of the Gabriel Severos' work by Ukrainian scholars testifies the new trend of Ukrainian theological thought influenced by the modern Greek theology of *religious humanism*.

Die byzantinische Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur, ungleich schwächer aufgearbeitet als ihre patristischen und westlichen Gegenstücke, vermittelt ein interessantes Bild über die geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung der wichtigsten religiösen Minderheit des oströmischen Reiches. Das Genre der Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur wurde schon früh entwickelt, bereits im NT wird mit fortschreitender Zeit eine zunehmend antijüdische Stimmung bemerkbar, maßgeblich vor dem Hintergrund der Zerstörung Jerusalems im Jahre 70 n.Chr. durch die Römer, ein Ereignis, das als Erfüllung der Untergangsprophezeiungen Jesu von Nazareth verstanden wurde und diesen damit als den verheißenen Messias legitimierte. Aus einem Abgrenzungsbedürfnis gegenüber der älteren und damit attraktiveren Religion, die mit ihrer andauernden Messiaserwartung die Existenzberechtigung des Christentums insgesamt in Frage stellte, wurde auf christlicher Seite schon seit frühester Kirchenväterzeit eine reiche antijüdische Literatur entwickelt, die sich das gesamte Mittelalter über in Ost wie West fortsetzte. Ihr gehörten verschiedenste literarische Gattungen an: Briefe, Traktate, Testimoniensammlungen, Homilien u.a. Von entscheidender Bedeutung ist aber die Dialogliteratur, erlaubt diese doch eine besondere Herausstellung der unterschiedlichen Standpunkte, hat aber im Gegensatz zu dem eher wissenschaftlichen Traktat keine Verpflichtung zur Vollständigkeit oder einen irgendwie gearteten Begründungszwang. Diese Vorteile erklären die führende Stellung des Dialoges in der byzantinischen Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur. Höhepunkte der Gattung waren das 6. Jhdt., in Verbindung mit der justinianischen Novelle 146 aus dem Jahre 553, die die Verwendung der jüdischen Aquila-Übersetzung des AT neben der LXX gestattete, ein Faktum, das die orthodoxe Geistlichkeit nicht dulden mochte, dann das 7. Jhdt., in Zusammenhang mit der Zwangstaufe, die Kaiser Herakleios 642 an den Juden durchführen wollte, die die Kirche aber aus eschatologischen Gründen ablehnte, sowie schließlich das 14. Jhdt. Hier versuchten die Kaiser der Palaiologendynastie die teilweise kapitalkräftigen Minderheiten der Armenier und Juden zu fördern, während die Kirche den Andersgläubigen in einer zunehmenden Vergeistlichung, die alsbald in den Hesychasmus-Streit einmünden sollte, kritisch gegenüberstand. Im Vergleich mit ausgewählten Gattungsvertretern lateinischer und orientalischer Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur zeichnet sich das interessante Ergebnis ab, daß die orientalischen Texte, gleich, ob von Jakobiten oder Nestorianern verfaßt, in ihrer Anlage und Argumentation den griechischen Texten durchaus ähnlich sind, die tiefgreifenden dogmatischen Unterschiede dieser christlichen Konfessionen hier also bedeutungslos bleiben. Die lateinischen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte weisen dagegen schon ab Augustinus, also lange vor der Scholastik, die das abendländische Denken revolutionieren sollte, eine andere Vorgehensweise den Juden gegenüber auf, die wesentlich stärker vom Gebrauch der *ratio* geprägt ist. Die umfangreiche antijüdische Literatur des Altertums, deren hauptsächliche Vertreter aus der Schule von Alexandria stammten (Apion), bleibt selbstverständlich für den christlichen Bereich ob der vollkommen verschiedenen Argumentationsebenen bedeutungslos, gelegentliche Zitate bei christlichen Autoren wie Klemens von Alexandria dienen eher einer Demonstration der Bildung des jeweiligen Verfassers.

Literatur: H. SCHRECKENBERG, Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte, 3 Bde., Frankfurt/M. u.a. 1982, ²1991, 1994 (geringe Berücksichtigung byzantinischer Autoren); A. KÜLZER, Adversus Judaeos, Biblos 44 (1995), 227-240.

Daniel J. Sahas

"Bartholomeus of Edessa on Muhammad.
A critical evaluation"

The ninth-century (?) enigmatic monk-controversialist Bartholomeus of Edessa represents a turning point in the history of the Byzantine anti-Islamic literature. Articulate, knowledgeable, and particularly offensive, Bartholomeus writes a lengthy and detailed treatise *Against the Hagarenes* (it is doubtful whether the *Against Muhammad* under his name is a product of his pen) and describes Islam clearly within the context of the emerging Hadith and popular spirituality. Bartholomeus' evidence is, in itself, significant for the history of the development of Islam and the rise of its institutions. But how much did he know the sources, which ones, how did he understand and present them?

The paper will attempt to raise questions of interpretation and sources, the state of Hadith literature and Islamic scholarship in the ninth century, as well as of Christian influence and understanding, in the context of popular piety and of an interfaith encounter, using Bartholomeus of Edessa as its basis.

Byzance et les Conciles oecuméniques.

Nous avons en vue les Conciles oecuméniques: Nicée (325), contre l'arianisme; Constantinople (381); Ephèse (431), contre Nestorius; Chalcédoine (451), contre le monophysisme; Constantinople (680-681), qui condamna le monothélisme; Nicée (787), contre l'iconoclasme.

Le point capital de l'arianisme est la négation de la divinité du Fils de Dieu comme le Père; suivant Arius (prêtre d'une des églises d'Alexandrie) et ses partisans le Christ ne possède qu'une divinité secondaire ou subordonnée, c'est-à-dire, en d'autres termes, qu'il n'est pas réellement Dieu éternel, infini, et tout-puissant. La première manifestation de l'arianisme se place vraisemblablement en 323. L'empereur Constantin-le-Grand jugea le moment venu d'intervenir dans la controverse et convoqua en juin 325 à Nicée un Concile oecuménique, qui condamna solennellement Arius et promulga un Symbole de foi, qu'il était complété par le Concile suivant à Constantinople.

Les controverses qui, au V^e siècle s'engagèrent sur l'union des deux natures - la nature humaine et la nature divine - dans la personne du Christ, accentua les divergences entre l'Occident latin et l'Orient grec et troubla l'Empire d'autant plus gravement que la politique se mêla à la querelle religieuse. Rome dut accepter en frémissant l'extension de pouvoir du patriarche de Constantinople, qui devint, sous la tutelle de l'empereur, le vrai pape de l'Orient.

L'empereur Leon III et ses héritiers (726-780) tentèrent une grande réforme religieuse. Ils proscrivirent les icônes (les images saintes), persécutèrent les moines et du conflit, qu'ils déchaînèrent et qu'on appelle l'iconoclasme, ils ont gardé, dans l'histoire, le nom d'iconoclastes. Ils remportèrent leurs plus grands succès sous le règne de Constantin Copronyme, fils de Léon III.

L'impératrice Irène fit condamner solennellement au Concile de Nicée (787) l'hérésie iconoclaste et elle restaura le culte des icônes. L'iconoclasme a eu pour résultat incontestable de faire l'Eglise plus soumise que jamais à l'autorité de l'empereur.

Die Pentarchie, ein Modell der Kirchenleitung

Unter der Pentarchie versteht man die gemeinsame Verantwortung der fünf Patriarchate Rom, Konstantinopel, Alexandrien, Antiochien und Jerusalem für die Leitung der Kirche. Erstmals begegnet uns die Liste der fünf Patriarchate in der oben genannten Reihenfolge in den Akten des Konzils von Chalkedon (451). Namen und Reihenfolge der fünf Patriarchate wurden in die Novellen des Kaisers Justinian I. (527-565) aufgenommen, wodurch sie auch staatsrechtliche Bedeutung bekam. Die Gemeinsamkeit der fünf Patriarchate bestand im gemeinsamen Glauben und in der sakramentalen Communio. Sie kam am wirksamsten zum Ausdruck auf den ökumenischen Konzilien, wo die Patriarchate den gemeinsamen Glauben der einen Kirche formuliert haben. Zum letztenmal geschah dies auf dem Zweiten Konzil von Nizäa (787). Dieses Konzil verwarf die Beschlüsse der bilderfeindlichen Synode von Hieria (754). Die Gemeinschaft der Fünf gilt als göttliche Stiftung. Die photianische Synode von Konstantinopel (879/80) hatte den einzelnen Patriarchaten das Recht bestätigt, ihren je eigenen liturgischen und kanonistischen Traditionen zu folgen. Nach dem Großen Schisma des Jahres 1054 war die Pentarchie gespalten. Die vier orientalischen Patriarchate standen Rom gegenüber, das den Primat über die vier Patriarchate beanspruchte. Dennoch betrachteten kirchliche Schriftsteller auf byzantinischer Seite (vor allem Petrus von Antiochien und Theodor Balsamon) die Fünf immer noch als bestehende Gemeinschaft. Jedoch wurde der Anspruch Roms auf den Primat über die vier übrigen Patriarchate vor allem seit dem 12. Jh. entschieden zurückgewiesen. Im Zusammenhang mit der Polemik gegen den Anspruch Roms entstanden Pentarchielisten, die nicht Rom, sondern Konstantinopel den ersten Rang einräumten.

Mit dem Aufstieg des Metropoliten von Moskau zur Würde eines Patriarchen im Jahre 1589 ergab sich eine neue Variante der Pentarchie. Die Byzantiner betrachteten seit Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts Rom nicht mehr als Mitglied der Pentarchie. Mit dem Aufkommen nationaler Patriarchate auf dem Balkan hat die Pentarchie im vorigen Jahrhundert zunächst an Bedeutung verloren. Jedoch haben orthodoxe und katholische Theologen im ökumenischen Dialog seit dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil die Bedeutung der Pentarchie als Modell der Kirchenleitung wiedererkannt, obwohl es in der orthodoxen Kirche wesentlich mehr als fünf Patriarchate und autokephale Kirchen gibt. Entsprechend orthodoxer Ekklesiologie soll Rom dabei auf die Ausübung jurisdiktioneller Vollmacht über die übrigen Patriarchate verzichten. Ziel der ökumenischen Bemühungen ist die Einheit in versöhnter Verschiedenheit.

The Golan Heights of Palaestina Secunda: A Monastic Region in Byzantine Times

Various monastic regions in Byzantine Oriens have had their historians; e. g. Theodoret and Jerome for Northern Syria; Palladius for Egypt, and Cyril of Skythopolis for Cis-Jordania. But Trans-Jordania's monastic regions have had no historians. Archeology, however, has revealed it in the southern sector through the efforts of Fr. M. Piccirillo and to a lesser degree in the northern, through the efforts of Cl. Dauphin and Z. Ma'oz. The thrust of this paper is to invoke the aid of literary sources for supporting the archaeological work and recovering the monastic past of the latter region - the Golan.

These sources reveal the Golan as an important monastic region and they are of two kinds, Syriac and Arabic; the more important is the former, principally that precious Syriac document that goes back to A.D. 569, signed by the abbots of 132 monasteries in the provincia Arabia and the neighboring regions for the most recent treatment of which, see Irfan Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century (Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), Vol. I. 2, pp. 824-838. What is relevant in this context are references to the monasteries of the Golan in the document. The document deals mainly with Arabia and only peripherally with the Golan and yet it reveals at least four monasteries, sure sign that the region had many more. The Arabic sources testify to the monastic character of the region and describe in detail its most important monastery in the early Islamic period, that of Aphek.

The rise of the Golan as a monastic region is explicable: to start with, it was part of the Holy Land, having been the scene of Christ's miracle (Panaas and the women with the issue of blood), and it overlooked holy sites in Galilee and its sea, the scene of Christ's ministry. In Byzantine times, the Golan became the headquarters of the Arab Federates of Byzantium, especially the Ghassanids who were zealous Christians, well known for their interest in monasteries. attested archaeologically (Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi) and in the literary sources, (Hamza al-Isfahani) and in some contemporary poetry.

It is noteworthy that even in early Islamic times, the region did not lose its monastic character. Travelers to the region noted the fact and provided the detail that acorns were staple food for the ascetics of the region.

Alice-Mary Talbot

The Change in Status of Byzantine Monasteries from Male to Female
and Vice-versa

Washington, D.C.

Byzantine sources of the 9th-15th c. mention a number of instances of the change in status of a Byzantine religious house, that is, the conversion of a male monastery to a nunnery and vice-versa. In about ten of the cases some of the circumstances of the conversion are known and provide insight into the underlying reasons for the change in status. On occasion nuns or monks moved into a monastery that had been abandoned by monastics of the opposite sex because of persecution or financial constraints. Sometimes it was the decision of a ktetor or his/her descendants to change the status of the foundation. Thus, Leo, bishop of Nauplion, decided to replace the nuns at Areia with monks because he was fearful of pirate raids and thought the nuns would be safer at an inland location. A particularly interesting case is the transformation to a nunnery of the male monastery of Blachernitissa at Arta in the first part of the 13th c. This conversion was sanctioned by John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos, on the grounds that nuns were discriminated against in Epiros and had no proper convents; therefore it was right to expel the monks to make room for nuns. Not all churchmen agreed with the position of Apokaukos; Theodore of Stoudios in the 9th c. and two synodal decisions of the 14th c. countermanded such conversions of monasteries and forced them to return to their original status.

The rapid transformation of monasteries for use by monastics of the opposite sex leads to the conclusion that few if any structural changes in the monastic complex were required, and suggests that male and female religious houses were virtually identical in plan. The sole alteration mentioned in the texts is at the 14th-c. Constantinopolitan convent of Maroules, changed to a male monastery: here the images of female saints in the refectory were replaced with pictures of male saints.

Les plaintes d'un *didascale*: Léon Valianitès

Les *didascales* du 12^e siècle constituent une catégorie "professionnelle" particulière de ce siècle. Plusieurs de ceux-ci, à l'occasion d'un éloge ou d'une didascalie en présence du patriarche, n'hésitent pas de se plaindre d'un avancement qui traîne ou plus souvent de leur rémunération. Leurs textes sont précieux, parce que dans la plupart de cas chaque didascale, pour renforcer sa demande, évoque divers événements ou étapes de sa carrière, qui nous révèlent certains aspects de cette institution pas très bien connue.

De Léon Valianitès nous avons six didascalies inédites, dans *Scorialensis* (265) Y II 10, et le titre de deux autres dont le texte est perdu. Léon est connu comme *didascale du Psautier* nommé par le patriarche Basile II Kamatèros, ensuite il est devenu curieusement deux fois *didascale oecuménique*. Il semble que sa carrière était beaucoup plus longue et aventureuse. Nous allons étudier la didascalie conservée dans les ff. 48v-55, qui contient les plaintes de ce didascale, qui, après treize ans au service, n'a pas encore obtenu la promotion et la rémunération qu'il attendait.

MITKO PANOV

ON THE CHURCH HISTORY OF SALONIKA
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE IV CENTURY

6221

In the course of the IV century the town of Salonika was transformed into a centre of church fights. When the domination of the Arians ended in 361 and the Emperor Iulian (361-363) reestablished the paganism within the frames of the Roman Empire, Salonika was turned into a scene of pitched battles between the Pagans and the Christians.

Under the pressure of the local authorities that were supporting Iulian, a large number of Christian preachers left Salonika and continued their activity in Tiberiopolis and its broader surroundings. However; their activity even in this Macedonian area was hindered by Valent and Philip who, being active in Salonika, as Theophylactes of Ohrid in his Hagiography of the Tiberiopolis Martyrs had stated, slaughtered a large number of Christians in carrying out Iulian's order;

After the death of Iulian, when Jovian came to the throne (363-364); the christianity was again the leading religion in the town of Salonika. By the end of the IV century, Salonika was transformed into a centre of constant church struggles for dominance between the Roman and the Constantinople church.

Walter K. Hanak

The Episcopacy of Methodios, the Apostle to the Slavs: Some Reconsiderations

The use of the term *archbishop* in ninth-century Byzantine and Latin canonical application is ambiguous. In recent decades, revisionist historians especially in the United States have adopted a strict canonical interpretation of this office in order to establish the location of the see of Methodios in the vicinity of Sirmium. The purpose of this paper is to explore ecclesiastical tradition as it applies to the ninth century and to understand the office of Methodios within the context of an archbishop, though designated archbishop of Sirmium, was the head of an ecclesiastical province that had no center and no suffragan dioceses in the 860s and 870s. Such ecclesiastical provinces, at least from the Latin perspective but not Byzantine, had immediate dependence upon the papacy. Within the context of ecclesiastical tradition, a comparative approach will be applied, analyzing the respective foundations of dioceses within the Latin and Byzantine church structures with special emphasis upon the papal convention adopted in the late eighth century for Vitmar, a missionary bishop to the unbaptized Danes, Swedes and Slavs, and for Ansgar (Anskar), "the apostle to the north" who was proclaimed archbishop and papal legate for the Scandinavians and Slavic missions.

THEOPHYLACTES OF OHRID AND ALEXIUS I COMMENUS

The problem about the designation of Theophylactes as the Ohrid Archbishop has caused a lively polemic among the large number of researchers on the church history of the Ohrid Archbishopric. Some of them supported the view that Theophylactes was sent to Ohrid as a punishment, while others maintained that this high position was entrusted to him by Alexius I Comnenus, due to his abilities and loyalty towards the family of Comnenus.

The source data from the letters of Theophylactes of Ohrid, the "Alexiad" of Anna Comnena and other sources testify that Theophylactes of Ohrid and Alexius I Comnenus were in close relationship even before Theophylactes was appointed Archbishop of Ohrid. Furthermore, the support that Theophylactes of Ohrid gave to Alexius I Comnenus to come to the throne of Byzantium, was decisive in his appointment as an Archbishop.

The Source studying problemes of Christianisation of
Caucasus

Areas of missionary activity of the Armenian illuminator Saint Gregory and the illuminatrix of Georgia, Saint Nino, have not been determined and delimited in special literature up to now.

Irrespective of the fact that an effort to delimit spheres of missionary activity of both of them was made in Georgian historiography (M.Chkhartishvili "Problems of Source Study of Georgian hagiography "Life of Saint Nino",1987), this problem still is needing additional elaboration, for, according to the offered scheme, area of the activity of Saint Gregory partially encompasses the sphere of missionary activity of St. Nino, erroneously.

Detailed study of cycles of the lives of the afore-mentioned saints has revealed that the limits of the areas of their activity strongly differ. Toponyms, mentioned by Agaphangel in "The History of Armenia" (town of Satala, country of Chaldes, Klarjeti, limits of Meskhs, limits of Albanians, limits of Caspian countries, t. Paitakaran, t. Amid, t. Nizibin, limits of Assirya, countries of Norshirakan, Korduk, country of Mahrirs, Magrtun, Atropatene), encompass territory of the Great Armenia. As to the toponyms listed by Movses Chorenatsy, when describing enlightening activity of St. Nino (Klarjeti, Alan Gates, Caspian borders, borders of Maskuts) they coincide with the contour of territorial limits of Iberia.

Areas of missionary activity of St. Nino and St. Grigory partially overlap each other only in the region of Gugareti (Gugark).

The Mid V Century Armenian Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons and its Greek Original

1. The Armenian "Book of Canons" was compiled by catholicos Johannes Odznetsi (718-727). It includes 24 canonical groups: one translated from Syriac (The Teaching of the Apostles), the major part -- from Greek: the 85 Apostolic canons, the canons of the first three ecumenical councils and the seven oriental synods, held in the IV century, of some church fathers (Timotheus Alexandrinus, Basilius of Caesareia, Dionysius Alexandrinus) and eight original Armenian writings: the canons of the national synods and church fathers. In the X century, and later, the collection was enlarged up to 57 canonical groups.

2. One of the main sources of Odznetsi could be the mid V century canonical collection, including the Teaching of the Apostles, the Greek Apostolic canons, the canons of Nicaea, Ancyra, Caesareia (extant only in Armenian and indirectly mentioned in the Syriac and Latin collections), Neocaesareia, Gangra, Antiochia, Laodiceia and of the Armenian synod, held in 444 (or 447-448) in Shahapivan. A late V century editor made some changes in it, adapting it to the Armenian religious practice, inserting citations from the Bible and cross-citations between different canons, relating a more detailed description of punishments, than those mentioned in the original, etc. But before that an abridgement of the canons of Nicaea and the seven synods (the Armenian tradition calls them altogether "Nicaean canons") had been made, extant among the X century additions to the collection and bears the title "The Second Nicaean canons". In some points the latter are closer to the Greek original, than the text of the non-abridged canons.

3. The collection of the "Apostolic" and the "Nicaean" canons, cited in the canons of the Shahapivan, is one of the earliest Armenian translations, following the Bible, made in the late 30's of the V century (the "Nicaean" canons were brought to Armenia in 436-437 with the Ephesian ones), though the 20 canons of Nicaea once had been already brought immediately after the council.

4. The structure and the order of the "Nicaean" canons are the same as those of the V century Greek collection, reconstructed on the basis of the Syriac and Latin versions and reflected in the Nomokanon XIV Titulorum.

5. The linguistic data and the translation technique are also good witnesses of the fact that the canons of Constantinople and Ephesus were translated later, and the canons of the synod of Sardica are a more recent translation.

В конце 7-го, начале 8-го в.в. Армения была разделена между двумя супердержавами региона-Византийской империей и Арабским халифатом. Арабо-византийское противостояние оказало политическое, экономическое и религиозное влияние на Армению. Для Византии обеспечение политического влияния над Арменией носило религиозный характер. Несмотря на то, что церковь Западной Армении, которая находилась под властью Византии, в основном примыкала к диофизитам, стремилась следовать традициям армянской церкви. По этому Трулльское церковное собрание в 692г. установило каноны, направленные против армянского духовенства.

Опасаясь содействия Арабского халифата и армянских католикосов Елиа Арчишеци и Иоанна Одзнеци, вследствие чего предотвратилось разделение церкви Кавказской Албании, патриархи Константинополя вели серьезную работу в направлении распространения халкедонства в Восточной Армении, которая находилась под властью арабов. До нас дошла переписка патриарха Германа и духовного предводителя Сюника Степаноса Сюнеци, где речь идет об объединении двух церквей. Есть сведение и о том, что Степанос Сюнеци был в Константинополе и наладил личные связи с императором и патриархом. В армянской библиографии говорится и о том, что Степанос Сюнеци, возвращаясь из Константинополя, принес послание патриарха армянскому католикосу Иоанну Одзнеци. В библиографии и армянском фольклоре есть сведение и об одной миссии, возглавляемой князем Валидом, которую император отправил в Армению в 820-ых годах.

Изучение сведений армянской библиографии, которые недостаточно исследованы, могут пролить свет на историю армяно-византийских политических и церковных отношений начала 8-ого века.

DOCUMENTS ON THE ARMENIAN-BYZANTINE ECCLESIASTICAL
NEGOTIATIONS (1165-1178)

The Armeno-Byzantine ecclesiastical discussions in 1165 - 1178 ended inconclusively. Nevertheless, during the final phase of these negotiations, at the 1178 Synod of Hromklay, Nerses Lambronac'i, the Archbishop of Tarson, presented a document in which he proposed to approach the Byzantine emperor on altering the Armenian church's position in the hierarchical order of the universal church.

In his work "Compendia of the Byzantine Orthodox" Lambronac'i responds to the nine demands posed by Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143 - 1180) and Patriarch Michael III Anchialos (1170 - 1178). The ninth point demanded that the Armenians should assent to the nomination of the Armenian Catholicos for election by solely the Byzantine emperor. Lambronac'i replies that, though put at the end, this final point recapitulates all other issues. Lambronac'i advises the synodal participants to approach the Emperor with the following suggestion: "The Armenian Catholicos shall hold the see of Antioch and all the churches and territories under his jurisdiction to the East and to the West. Besides, by the king's [i. e. Emperor's] decree his succession should pass on for ever within the Armenian line of descent." Lambronac'i particularly bore in mind the fact that since the seventh century on, notwithstanding the numerous attempts at reconciliation, the Armenian and Byzantine branches of the Universal Church had been steadily drifting apart.

According to Lambronac'i, this was "the only way to secure a firm, unbreakable union of love, ...it will set all the Armenian churches under the authority of the Byzantine Orthodox Emperor and unite them within your great Church". Developing these theses Nerses Lambronac'i continues: "Thus, when the Armenian Catholicos, in a capacity of the Patriarch of Antioch, will be one of the four sees at the right hand of the Byzantine Orthodox Emperor the hope, faith and unity of all Armenians will be anchored through him in you. Then whatever yoke you lay upon our neck will be alleviated by this hope... Otherwise, due to our sins, being a slave to other nations and living under their authority, how is it possible to reach out to the Byzantine Orthodox Emperor and request him to nominate a Catholicos".

It was perhaps in an effort to prove this stance to be debated at the Synod of Hromklay that, Lambronac'i together with Kostandin Herapolsec'i, translated the treatises of Nilus Doxapatri, Epiphanius of Cyprus and a series of anonymous tracts on the structure of the Universal Church hierarchy. Finck's comparison reveals that the extant Greek texts contain lacunas. At the same time it is possible to assuredly assert that the translators inserted various passages into the works of Nilus and Epiphanius which, in my opinion, must derive from the strategy Lambronac'i crafted on the eve of the Synod of Hromklay. I would include among those passages the portion on "the jurisdiction of Greater Armenia" found in Epiphanius's text and the sections in Nilus formulating the status of the Patriarchate of Antioch and Armenian Catholicate.

"The jurisdiction of Greater Armenia" chapter introduced into Epiphanius's writing is a summary version of the corresponding passage in the Armenian translation of Nilus, in which the translators stress the distinct character of Armenian see. In the translation of both Epiphanius's and Nilus's works the Armenian Catholicate's independent position is compared to the similar autocephalous status Cyprus. The only exception is that in Nilus's writing these two independent Churches are joined by the Bulgarian see.

The renaming of the Armenian Catholicate into the Patriarchate of Antioch offered first by Nerses Lambronac'i was intermittently revived by the Armenian Catholicate during the thirteenth century. However, they were completely abandoned after the fall of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.

НОРМАННЫ И ПОПЫТКА ХРИСТИАНИЗАЦИИ РУСИ В ПРАВЛЕНИЕ ОЛЫГИ.

Время правления княгини Ольги на Руси (945 – 969 гг.) было важным этапом в утверждении христианства на Русской земле. Впервые сама правительница Руси стала христианкой. Правда, у историков по сей день нет единого мнения о дате этого события. Называются 946, 955, 957 гг.

Став христианкой – в каком году, в нашем случае, не существенно – великая княгиня сделала попытку осуществить крещение всего своего народа. Для этого она обратилась за помощью к королю Германии Оттону I. Обращение в Германию, хотя сама она крестилась в Константинополе, должно быть связано с опасениями княгини, что ромеи захотят усилить свое влияние на Руси, если она примет крещение из их рук. Этого Ольга не желала допустить, чем и объясняется весьма неласковый прием ею византийского посольства вскоре по ее возвращению из Константинополя в Киев.

Посольство Ольги в Германию и неудачная миссия епископа Адаальберта на Русь известны прямо из немецких источников (Продолжатель Регинона Прюмского и Летопись Ламберта) и косвенно из русских (Предание о крещении Руси). Каковы же истинные причины неудачи этой попытки христианизации Руси? Безусловно, дело здесь не во "мнении народном". Ключ к пониманию – мотивировка своего отказа креститься князем Святославом. Он не пожелал следовать примеру матери, ссылаясь на неприятие христианства княжеской дружиной, костяк которой как раз

составляли норманны. Их же неприятие христианской миссии из Германии, должно быть, связано с особенностями тогдашних отношений норманнов с миром западного христианства. Если с Восточной Европой у скандинавов, в основном сложились вполне дружеские отношения, то с Западом в X в. превалировали отношения враждебные. В связи с этим, и будучи язычниками, норманские дружинники киевских князей и не позволили Ольге крестить Русь по западному обряду. А дружина в Киевской Руси могла навязывать свою волю князьям, каковым правом она в 962 г. очевидно и воспользовалась.

**La métropole de Tourkia. L'organisation de l'Eglise byzantine en Hongrie
au Moyen Âge**

Trois documents: les codices Athon. Esphigmenou 131, f. 61r-v, Athon. Dionysiou 120, f. 701-703v et Parisinus graec. 48, f. 255v-263, sont les témoins de l'existence d'une métropole sous la juridiction de Patriarcat de Constantinople en Hongrie au XI-XIIe siècles. Ces données sont confirmées par le typikon du monastère de Veszprémvölgy, en offrant une explication plus acceptable pour l'énigme de la deuxième archevêché, celle de Kalocsa. Dans la liste des métropoles Tourkia est directement suivie par Rhôsia, et un parallèle peut être établi entre les développements de la mission byzantine en Hongrie et Russie. Pour les suffragants de la métropole sont supposés les évêchés situées dans les régions orientale et méridionale de la Hongrie (Csanád, Transsylvanie, Bihar), n'ayant pas de chartes de fondation, comme Kalocsa aussi. La chair de la métropole est occupée par des Grecs (Ioannes, Antonios, Georgios), et le premier archevêque latin, Desiderius n'apparaît-il qu'en 1075. La métropole byzantine ne se transformait que lentement en une archevêché latine au cours du XIIe siècle. La coexistence des Eglises latine et byzantine en Italie de Sud peuvent fournir une certaine analogie pour une meilleure reconstruction de cette situation, supposée plus fraternelle que l'on estimait autrefois. L'existence parallèle de deux structures ecclésiastiques, dépendantes de Rome et de Constantinople, soutenues par les rois Saint Etienne et ses successeurs, était unique dans son genre. Les fouilles archéologiques sont à confirmer ces documents écrits.

Stefano Caruso / Palermo

SUL PROCESSO PER ERASIA CONTRO BARTOLOMEO DA SIMERI (XI-XII SEC.)

Contro la tesi classica (formulata in origine dal dotto gesuita siracusano Pader Ottavio Gaetani, l'editore delle monumentali "Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum", ripresa dai Padri Bollandisti in sede di riedizione, nel testo greco originale, del "bios" del Santo (BHG³ 235), cononizzata da Pierre Batiffol, l'autore dell'opera ormai classica dedicata a "L'Abbaye de Rossano (Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane)", ribaita da Mario Scaduto, S.J., subito dopo la seconda guerra mondiale ne "Il monachismo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale (Rinascita e decadenza, sec. XI-XIV)", recentemente riproposta, in chiave d'interpretazione politico-religiosa, dalla compianta collega Maria Bianca Foti, nel volume dedicato a "Il monastero del S.mo Salvatore" in Lingua Phari. "Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale", e - con differente punto di vista - dal collega Santo Lucà nel lungo saggio su "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII", secondo la quale gli accusatori di Bartolomeo da Simeri, il fondatore ed egumeno del monastero di S. Maria Odigitria la Nuova o del Patire a Rossano, presso il conte - poi re di Sicilia - Ruggero II il Normanno sarebbero stati due monaci benedettini del monastero di S. Angelo (o della Trinità) di Mileto, con tutte le conseguenze interpretative che se ne sono tratte o se ne potrebbero trarre, nella presente comunicazione, sia sulla base di una rilettura del "bios" che in forza di dati di recente acquisizione in campo e codicologico ed archeologico, viene presentata e sostenuta la tesi, peraltro già adombrata, ma esclusa sulla base di considerazioni extratestuali e meta-storiche, nel "commentarius praevius" al testo del "bios" dai Padri Bollandisti, secundo cui i due accusatori di Bartolomeo non furono due monaci latini, bensì greci, anzi due discepoli del Santo stesso. Con la conseguenza che il famoso episodio del processo per eresia contro di lui, che viene a costituire una sorta di leggenda eziologica sulla nascita del monastero del SS. Salvatore *in lingua phari* o dell'Acroterio di Messina, il celebre Archimandritato, va storicamente reinquadrato non già nel clima di concorrenzialità che si sviluppa in età normanna fra Greci e Latini in Italia meridionale, documentato invece dal "bios" di Luca Vescovio di Isola Capo Rizzuto (BHG³ 2237; ed. Schirò), sulla scia dello scisma del 1054 fra Roma e Bisanzio, bensì nell'ambito di una faida fra Greci determinata, forse, dalla nuova situazione creatasi in quell'area con l'avvento della dominazione normanna e col ritorno all'obediienza romana dopo tre secoli di obediienza costantinopolitana, faida che trova fore la sua scaturigine prima nello scontro fra Bartolomeo da Simeri e il vescovo greco di Rossano Nicola Maleinos al tempo della fondazione, o rifondazione, del monastero rossanese del Patire.

Reinhart Staats:

KAISER MANUEL, HEINRICH DER LÖWE UND DAS "FILIOQUE". Der Prozeß gegen den Sachsenherzog in byzantinischer Sicht.

Heinrich der Löwe, Herzog von Bayern und Sachsen, wird in der Geschichtswissenschaft meist nur unter nationalen Gesichtspunkten gewürdigt (1157/58 Gründung der Stadt München, 1159 Lübeck, 1158-1160 Schwertmission mit König Waldemar von Dänemark gegen die Obodriten, deren Region, heute Mecklenburg, schließlich Heinrich zufällt; 1160 Gründung der Stadt Schwerin; seit 1176 offener Widerstand gegen Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossa). Kaum beachtet wurde, daß der Sturz Heinrich des Löwen in den Jahren 1178-1180 auch eine byzantinische und kirchlich ökumenische Perspektive haben könnte. Schon zu seiner Zeit wurde die Meinung geäußert, daß Heinrich ein Verräter an der Sache des abendländischen Kaiserreiches gewesen und durch "Geschenke der Griechen" zum Abfall von Kaiser Friedrich I. verleitet worden sei (so offiziell Gottfried von Viterbo).

Heinrichs Pilgerreise über Konstantinopel nach Jerusalem im Jahr 1172, wie sie in der Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck detailliert referiert ist, kann diese Meinung unterstützen. Heinrich wurde Ostern 1172 von Kaiser Manuel I. wie ein König empfangen. Natürlich erfahren wir nicht, was genau zwischen Sachsenherzog und Kaiser des christlichen Orients verhandelt wurde. Auffallend ist aber, daß dort ein Religionsgespräch über den Begriff "Filioque" im großen ökumenischen und nizänischen Credo stattfand. Das Gespräch hatte zum Resultat, daß der westlichen Lehre vom doppelten Ausgang des Heiligen Geistes aus Gott "und dem Sohn" von byzantinischer Seite nicht widersprochen wurde. Dieses Religionsgespräch zu Konstantinopel kann keineswegs nur sozusagen als theologisches Rahmenprogramm einer im übrigen auch nur repräsentativen feierlichen Selbstdarstellung zweier in West und Ost je so mächtigen Herrscher begriffen werden. Denn war der Wortlaut des Credo schon seit den großen Kaisern Theodosius und Justinian ein immer auch weltpolitisches Thema gewesen, so galt dies verschärft, seitdem Karl der Große die Interpolation des "Filioque" ins Credo (vor 800) verfügt, und seitdem dieser Text endlich auch in Rom 1024 durch Kaiser Heinrich II. durchgesetzt worden war. Auch beim Schisma zwischen Ost und West 1054 war das "Filioque" ein Hauptproblem zwischen Ost und West.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu beachten, daß die Annäherung Konstantinopels an Rom ein erklärtes Ziel der Komnenen schon seit Alexios I. gewesen war. Manuel I. war bekanntlich seit 1166 darum bemüht, eine Anerkennung auch als römischer Kaiser zu erreichen (Mango, Classen).

Hier tritt eine Linie hervor, die schließlich 1274 auf dem Konzil von Lyon zur Anerkennung des "Filioque" durch Kaiser Michael VIII. führen sollte, was dennoch am Widerspruch der griechischen Theologen mit guten Gründen bis heute scheitern sollte. Seitens der sächsischen Familientradition ist daran zu erinnern, daß schon 1136 Kaiser Lothar III., der Großvater Heinrichs des Löwen, in Konstantinopel über die Kirchenspaltung verhandeln ließ.

Hat Heinrich der Löwe Ostern 1172 von Manuel I. die Zusage erhalten, bei einem zu erwartenden Konflikt mit Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa die Unterstützung des oströmischen Kaisers zu erhalten, und war ihm in seinem Streben vom Herzog zum König aufzusteigen, oströmische Hilfe versprochen worden? Das ist eine echte Frage. Es gibt ja auch reichlich monumentale Zeugnisse, die auf Heinrichs Königsplan nach 1172 hinweisen können: Parallele des Braunschweiger Pfalzbaus mit Aachen; Ausbau Braunschweigs zur ersten festen Residenzstadt in Deutschland; der Burglöwe als ein vielleicht auch byzantinisches Programm; der siebenarmige Leuchter im Braunschweiger Dom mit dem Motiv der sieben Gaben des Heiligen Geistes (vgl. Jes. 11,2; Apk 1,12.20) - ein zentrales Motiv schon in der karolingischen Hoftheologie (mit "Filioque") und in den Ordines zur Königssalbung seit den Ottonen. Vor allem ist das Krönungsbild im jetzt wiederaufgetauchten Welfenevangeliar ein herrliches Beispiel für den Anspruch Heinrichs auf die Königswürde: es zeigt Heinrich mit Gemahlin Mathilde bei der Krönung durch die Hand Gottes, daneben die überwiegend königlichen und kaiserlichen Eltern und Großeltern des Paares. Alle tragen Kruzifixe in der Hand. Zu beachten ist auch der Platz dieses Bildprogramms im Evangeliar kurz vor dem Johannesevangelium, dessen Prolog (Joh 1,1-14) zur alten abendländischen Weihnachts- und Krönungsliturgie gehört. Dem Krönungsbild in der unteren politischen Hälfte entspricht die Christusdarstellung in der oberen, die irdische Welt transzendierenden himmlischen Bildhälfte (vgl. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*): Christus ruft zur Nachfolge, was Selbstverleugnung und Tragen des Kreuzes bedeutet (= Mt 16,24: das Leitwort der Kreuzzüge). Die Bezugnahme auf die Kreuzzugs-idee in diesem Bildprogramm ist so evident, daß eine bewußte Erinnerung an Heinrichs und seiner Familie praktischen Teilnahme an Kreuzzügen, wozu auch Heinrichs Wallfahrt 1172 nach Jerusalem gerechnet werden kann, möglich erscheint.

Es bleibt offen, was Ostern 1172 in Konstantinopel zwischen Kaiser Manuel und Herzog Heinrich politisch konkret verhandelt worden ist. Die Tatsache eines Religionsgespräches über das "Filioque" legt aber nahe, daß auch die politischen Gespräche einen sowohl

kumenisch-kirchlichen als auch weltpol-
 atten. Heinrichs Interesse an eigener
 abei gewiß nicht im Hintergrund gestal-
 n Chiavenna, 1176, wird der Sachsenher-
 estlichen Kaiser Friedrich I. die Gef-
 erweigern; 1178-1180 ist dann der Pro-
~~achsenherzog~~, der ~~ihn~~ stürzen und entr-
 egegnung von Konstantinopel zeigt also
 ie politischen und theologischen Stru-
 nd Ost im 12. Jahrhundert noch sein ko-
 esten beim Kaiser des Ostens zu Laster-
 heologie - Streben nach Osten beim Sac-
 asten westlichen Kaisertums.



Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Lowen ist gemein-
 schaftliches Eigentum des Landes Niedersachsen,
 des Freistaates Bayern (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
 Clm 30055), der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und
 der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

RUSSIAN PILGRIMAGE TO BYZANTIUM AND ITS AFTERMATH UP TO THE PRESENT

Jarmo Pellikka, Ilc.theol. University of Helsinki

The Russian pilgrimage was part of the Byzantine Christian tradition that Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church took over. We find Russian pilgrims in Palestine, Mount Athos and Constantinople in the eleventh century. Constantinople played a very important role in Russian life from the ninth century to the 15th century.

During the Middle Ages there was a vast body of both secular and pilgrims' accounts about Constantinople. All these accounts provided their Russian readers with many-sided information of Constantinople and other distant lands and cultures. Their value as historical sources is worth attention. For example, we would not be aware of communication routes between Russia and Constantinople without the route descriptions documented in the pilgrims' accounts. We can also gather information on several types of communication between the final ends in these routes. Political and chronological references in the pilgrims' accounts can fill many blanks in Byzantine historiography. The topography of Constantinople can be reconstructed from these accounts.

As far as the phenomenology, or essence, of the Russian Orthodox pilgrimage itself is concerned, these Russian pilgrims' accounts form a body of source material that has been for various reasons almost totally neglected. These accounts illuminate clearly the process of a Russian pilgrim and the process of his pilgrimage as a spiritual transformation journey; the pilgrim-narrator experiences himself be transformed from one level of spirituality to another. For a medieval Russian pilgrim, the relics, icons and churches in Constantinople brought about this transformation to a higher level of spirituality.

The Russian vision of Byzantium collapsed because of the submission of the Byzantine Church to Rome. The making of a pilgrimage to Constantinople was now much more difficult than before. Constantinople's status in the Russians' ranking-list of places of pilgrimages sank quite low.

In the beginning of 1800s there rose a new wave of Russian pilgrimages, this time to Jerusalem. This new type of Russian pilgrimage was based largely on the same paradigm that was familiar from the Russian pilgrimage to Byzantium.

PILGRIMAGE IN KARELIA: THE CASE OF VALAMO MONASTERY IN THE 1930s

The Valamo Monastery on Lake Ladoga has functioned as a religious, cultural and social centre for surrounding Karelia. Ever since its founding, Valamo has been a monastery for Finnish (or Karelian) speaking Karelians, even though an overwhelming majority of its brethren has been of Russian ethnic background. Valamo has been both a place of work and an object of pilgrimage for Karelians. A phenomenon which was characteristic of Valamo, was something that could be called *extended visits to the sacred*. It was just as natural for the Karelians to participate in the divine services, to go to confession and receive the Holy Eucharist in the monastery churches in Valamo as it was to do so in their home parishes. They were familiar with the monastery milieu, they were friends with many of the monks, some of whom acted as their confessors, and many of them had also worked together with the monks. The Karelians visited the monastery as they would visit their neighbours. Here the degree of integration between Valamo and surrounding Karelia, and the intensity of interactional networks between them are noticeable. Visiting Valamo - and thus becoming familiar with it - was the basis for a shorter or longer stay there and the beginning of a "monastery career" for many Karelian. While Karelians often visited Valamo, they would stay and work there whenever possible. The laymen and even women in Valamo were an essential part of the monastery community there.

Valamo was a place where Karelian people went "for deep spiritual experiences". Although they often went there in groups, the experiences of the individual visitor are also worthy of attention. Victor Turner's often-quoted theory of pilgrimage cannot explain the nature of these visits to Valamo. The theory is based on the feeling of *communitas* and the concept of social relatedness, which according to Turner result in a mutual feeling of solidarity among pilgrims. There were dozens of different groups visiting Valamo during the summer weekends, and between them - and sometimes within them - there was little feeling of mutual solidarity. However, the feeling of being part of the same body was experienced on a different level - as fellowship in the Orthodox faith, by being part of the same family in Christ (Church = the body of Christ). The monastery provided a unique opportunity for the pilgrims to experience this feeling which gave them a positive sense of identity as people apart from the Lutheran tourists, and it made them feel proud of themselves: "Valamo is our monastery". Valamo was experienced as a sacred place, i.e. what was encountered there was sacredness in its spatial dimension. This caused the pilgrim to go through an experience of transformation, but it also resulted in feelings of solidarity towards the Eastern Orthodox church, not only towards those who happened to be at the monastery at the same time (i.e. *communitas*), as Turner would have predicted.

Annette Jung.

6311

The Melisms in the Hymns for Stauroproskynesis
by the Emperor Leo VI.

At a first glance, the stichera for Stauroproskynesis composed by the Emperor Leo VI seem to deviate from the other stichera in the standard abridged version in being more richly ornamented with long melisms. Is Leo nevertheless in reality following the tradition, or does he inaugurate a new, more melismated style with his hymns, and to what degree are they influenced by liturgical demands.

Musical Analysis of Kalophonic Stichera in the Second
Authentic Mode: Some Remarks.

My communication deals with the so-called kalophonic style, the most embellished development of Byzantine music, whose peak must be dated between the last quarter of the 13 century and the fall of Constantinople. The most important features of the kalophonic style can be summed up in the following:

- 1) A complex modal structure
- 2) The interpolation of long nonsense passages of teretismata and echemata
- 3) A highly melismatic music
- 4) The kalophonic treatment of text.

Within all the kalophonic repertoire, I have chosen as my material the stichera for September belonging to the second authentic mode. Stichera are the hymns that are sung immediately after the stichoi (verses of the psalms and biblical odes) or mixed with them during the rite.

- We will make a brief survey of the modal structure in the deuterios kalophonic stichera, referring especially to the topic of modulation by means of the modal signatures and intonations.

- We will also approach the topic of the musical punctuation, which accounts for the division into musical phrases and segments, and will try to establish its relationship with the syntax and train of thought of the sticheron.

- We will also make a comparative table of the musical differences between what I call the Basic Text and Nonsense Passages of the sticheron.

- Finally, a first attempt of classification of formulae.

An "Abridged" Analysis of *Heirmologion* and *Sticherarion* Melodies of the Fourth Authentic Mode. Some Observations.

The communication deals with a comparative analysis of melodies of the fourth authentic mode, taken from the *Heirmologion* and *Sticherarion*. The "abridged" musical analysis, that has been mainly based on a new method of analysis proposed by Prof. Alberto Doda, is formed by standard and elastic formulaic material, and gives the possibility to make an easy correlation of melodies. For the presentation Greek language will be used.

Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch der 'megala semadia' im Sticherarium Ambrosianum A 139 sup.

Bei der Analyse byzantinischer Gesänge berief man sich bisher immer auf den formelhaften Charakter dieser Musik, oft aber ohne sich über den Umfang der einzelnen Formeln einig zu sein (Wellesz, Velimirovic, Raasted, Amargianakis u.a.). In jüngster Zeit wird der a-priori-Wert der Formeln bestritten, zugunsten einer auf Registerwechsel basierenden Kompositionstechnik (Doda u.a.).

Theoretischen Schriften und Lehrgesängen des 13.-14. Jhs. (und auch später) läßt sich immerhin entnehmen, daß eine stets wachsende Anzahl von 'theseis' eine bedeutende Rolle in der 'psaltike' spielte. Man könnte von einem Grundformelschatz sprechen, der aus 'theseis' besteht, die

- 1) mit Namen versehen sind und
 - a) dazu ein eigenes 'mega semadion' (fortan MgS) besitzen, welches α) eingesetzt wird, um den Bestand der Formel zu sichern (z.B. 'antikenoma')
 - β) auch fehlen kann (z.B. choreuma)
 - b) dazu kein eigenes MgS besitzen (z.B. 'chairetismos')
- 2) ohne Namen sind (z.B. Kadenzformeln).

Das Sticherarium Ambrosianum A 139 sup. (A.D. 1341; edd. Raasted/Perria, MMB XI) wurde auf den Gebrauch der MgS und somit auf Formeln des Typs 1)a) hin untersucht, nach notations- und kompositionstechnischen Kriterien (Bestand an MgS, deren Farben und Formen bzw. die Tonhöhen und Modi in denen sie erscheinen, Betonung oder nicht-Betonung der Silbe auf der sie vorkommen, Platzierung im Kolon). Kombinationen und Variantlesungen von MgS wurden besonders beachtet.

Anhand des resultierenden MgS-Katalogs werden einige mittelbyzantinischen Hss und Athen. 884, Koukouzeles' Sticherarion, auf den Bestand der MgS hin überprüft. Vor allem soll dieser Katalog aber Ausgangspunkt einer Untersuchung der Notationsentwicklung im 15.-17. Jh. bilden, einer für die byzantinische Musik ereignisvollen, jedoch verhältnismäßig wenig erforschten Periode.

Some remarks on the history of the Byzantine stichera-prosomoia

(late VIIth-XIIIth cent.)

The history of stichera-prosomoia begins in the late VIIth cent., when the cycles of chants started to be composed on the melodic and metric model of the first chant of the cycle, called "automelon". This form of the prosomoia cycle originated in earlier polystrophic hymns such as kontakia.

At the same time, in the Byzantine service before the VIIIth cent. and at some extent in the VIIIth cent. were used cycles of stichera with similar melodies, but different textual structure, like those in the western church. Such a form is preserved only in the stichera anastasima on Saturday evening and Sunday morning.

In the stichera by the hymnwriters from the St.Saba monastery and later on the old primitive model singing was replaced by the classic prosomoion form. Serious reason for that was, as we believe, the important changes in the musical style of Byzantine chant, i.e. the appearance of idiomela - the authorized, individual and more musically elaborated chant, than earlier ones. Idiomela had to be reproduced rather identically; being used as models, they demanded metrical and syllabical identity in the prosomoia. This type of prosomoion cycle on the first model chant, was actual in the Byzantine hymnography, as far as we could see it, until the mid-IXth cent.

In the IXth cent., due to the efforts of the Studios monastery school and especially of Iosef the Hymnwriter, the models got to be "movable", i.e. they could be taken by the author from a chosen service and chantbook.

In the XIIIth cent., with the final establishment of the Jerusalem Typicon, which demanded a sticheron-idiomelon after the doxology for important feasts, the hymnwriter could compose a prosomoion text on some freely chosen model chant without indicating it anywhere.

The Anthology as a Book of Musical Synthesis

The basic ideas and hypothesis which the author is going to pursue in the paper are related to the following.

The Anthology represents to an utmost degree various stages of the synthesis in Byzantine music. The Anthology has not only remained the main chanted book through the centuries, where proper and ordinary psalms and hymns for the Vespers, Orthos, and the three liturgies were collected for the first time, but it is the book of musical synthesis. It appeared not only to replace the former Asmatikon and Psaltikon, linked to the cathedral practice of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and to represented the chanted repertory according to the Jerusalem liturgical order, but also as a culmination of everything significant and fittest in music which had survived up to the 14th century on the one hand, and as a starting-point of further developments after this date on the other. The synthesis in east-orthodox music manifests itself in the possibility of the latter to assimilate and adapt different practices and traditions like the old and the new, monastic and cathedral, secular and ecclesiastical, western and eastern. That is why, we have such precise designations above chants from the 14th century onwards and evidence about which one of them were "palaion" or "new", "kalougerikon" or "asmatikon", "megalon" or "synoptikon", which one has imitated sounds from outside reality like "trochos", "kampana", "viola", or where it came from like "Thessalonikeon", "Vatopeidinon" "Bulgarikon", "disikon", etc. That is also why, these practices and traditions have been transmitted into different languages (Greek and Slavonic in its various redactions). A synthesis like that, impermissible in Western religious chant up to the Renaissance, appears to be one of the most essential features of east-orthodox music.

The Order for the Gospel of Sunday Matins in Akolouthiai Manuscripts

This paper examines the texts, music, and rubrics provided for the Resurrectional Gospel of Byzantine Sunday matins in copies of the Akolouthiai of John Koukouzeles, a standard collection of chants for the Byzantine Divine Liturgy and monastic Divine Office. Two distinct orders for this ceremony are identified in manuscripts of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century:

1) *The Asmatic Order*. This was an elaborate sequence of chants and ritual actions borrowed from Sunday matins as celebrated in the Byzantine cathedral Rite of the Great Church—popularly known as the "Sung" Office or *asmatike akolouthia*—that placed the recitation of the Resurrectional Gospel near the end of the morning office. Beginning after the chanting of Lauds (Pss. 138–50) with an antiphonal rendition of the Marian troparion "ὑπερευλογημένη ὑπάρχεις" during a ritual entrance of the clergy into the sanctuary, the order continued with similar antiphonal performances of the Great Doxology and Resurrectional troparion of the day. It concluded with the chanting from the ambo of the asmatic rite's fixed prokeimenon for Sunday (Ps. 9:33)—for which kalophonic codas by eponymous Late Byzantine composers are usually provided—and the gospel lection itself.

2) *The Neo-Sabaïtic Order*. Reflecting the prescriptions of the *Διάταξις τῆς ἱεραδιακονίας*, an influential order for the Neo-Sabaïtic vigil composed by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, this placed the recitation of the Resurrectional Gospel before the kanon of matins. Essentially identical to the order observed today in many Orthodox churches, it commenced with the Resurrectional Sunday prokeimenon of the mode from Oktoechos.

Interestingly, the earliest known copy of the Akolouthiai, the MS Athens 2458 (dated "1336"), includes only the first of these orders. In such other manuscripts as the MS Vienna Theol. gr. 185, the asmatic sequence given in full, while the Resurrectional prokeimena of the Oktoechos for the Neo-Sabaïtic order are consigned to an appendix. From the precedence given in many Akolouthiai to the former version, one may conclude that these musical manuscripts were intended for use in churches employing Studite rather than Neo-Sabaïtic rescensions of the Palestinian monastic rite's Typikon of St. Sabas.

The adaptation of Byzantine singing in Russia included 3 independent processes: adaptation of texts (translation, comprehension, creation of new texts), adaptation of notation, adaptation of tunes (melodies).

The problem of the own system of the Old Slavic language was raised R.M. Tseitlin, which comes to the conclusion that "of the Old Slavic language contains some phenomena genetically connected with Greek, the particulars of various Greek elements and their functions belong to characteristic and in a number of cases to typological characteristics of Old Slavic language itself".

The history of musical and theoretical system of orthodox monody -octoglas phonation made up the subject of the present work. The tasks of the work were historically through comprehension of conception apparatus of Middle Ages monody, that makes it possible to expand the idea about the extent of Old Russian singing art national originality, levels of resemblance and difference of 2 cultures, to represent a vivid picture about cultural promotion a vivid musical and theoretical phenomenon of octoglas phonation during a number of centuries.

Were studied the treatises of the XI-XVI centuries, Byzantine XX century studies, Russian azbuki, investigations about Russian glas, popevki and the structures of echos and glas were made.

As a material of diachron investigation the singing book "Stichirarion" was adopted as one of the oldest translated singing book. The service to Barbara the Great Martyr was taken as a point of comparative diachron research. It was studied in 14 Byzantine XIIth -XVIth century and 35 Russian XII-XVIIIth century manuscript monuments. These sticherons were deciphered: Ἡ Θεόκλητος μάρτυς Βαρβάρα, Ἀθλητικὴν ὁδεύσασα ὁδόν, Πατρίδα, γένος, ὑπαρξιν, Τὴν πανήγυριν αἰμένον, Ἡσχύνθη ὁ Βάσκανος ἐχθρός, Τῆς γερασ τροφῆς.

I came to the conclusion that the principle of component connection system is practically similar both in glas and echos. At the same time since the earliest znameny manuscripts the existence of proper Russian znameny system has become evident:

a) the Russian formulas composed of selected Byzantine signs have been formed at once, since the XII century they preserved their graphic form unchanged till the XVIII century. Among such formulas there are final ones according to their compositional function in song singing or in its section, as formulas: kulisma $\sim \sim \sim$, grunka $\sim \sim \sim$, merezha $\sim \sim \sim$ and also sredinka $\sim \sim \sim$, derbitca $\sim \sim \sim$, chamila $\sim \sim \sim$, povertka $\sim \sim \sim$, duda $\sim \sim \sim$ and so on.

b) the endings of big sections of Old Russian songsinging forms which are noted by repeated final formulas with culisma, merezha, grunka. These final formulas at the same places of Byzantine prototype do not always coordinate with the repetition of the final Byzantine formulas. Rather often such repetition does not appear in Coislin notation.

c) Slavic formulas -graphic doublets of Byzantine type can appear in Slavic manuscripts irrespective of their Greek origin.

d) the national poetics of Russian song singing brings to independence in using themata (Russian fits): from 8 fits of the Russian service for Barbara the Great Martyr 5 fits don't possess parallels in Byzantine type.

e) one and the same formula of Byzantine notation is not seldom translated by different Slavic formulas.

The adaptation of Byzantine church melodies in Russia on account of considerable degree of independent Russian notation system could hardly be realized by translation method. Znameny rospcv should be regarded as a product of Russian musical thinking from the early songsinging in the XIIth century.

Ирина Лозова

Древнерусский нотированный Параклитик: происхождение, состав и соотношение с древнерусскими Ирмологиями.

Древнерусский Параклитик рубежа 12 - 13 веков из собрания библиотеки Синодальной типографии (РГАДА, ф. 381 № 80) - уникальная рукопись, представляющая собой единственный нотированный список книги этого типа в русской книжной культуре 12 - 15 веков. Орфография Параклитика, содержащая отклонения от традиционно-книжных написаний, позволяет отнести его к кругу рукописей северо-западного, скорее всего псковского, происхождения. Сохранился лишь фрагмент книги (169 лл.), включающий каноны первых трех гласов.

Список Параклитика отличается исключительной полнотой представленных в нем канонов - по три в воскресенье (неделю) и по два на каждый день седмицы. Он отражает архаичный вариант одножанровой певческой книги, возникший, однако, уже после соединения в пределах одного кодекса канонов утрени из воскресного и будничного Октоихов с молебными канонами повечерия (Туринский кодекс; см.: Дмитриевский, I, с. 805-806) или панихиды (Евергетидский кодекс; Дмитриевский, I, с. 258, 262, 265, 267 и др.), то есть собственно Параклитика.

Параклитик Типографского собрания занимает особое место среди древнерусских Параклитиков не только по количеству включенных в него канонов, но и по составу литургических текстов. В нем содержатся каноны, которые не встречаются в других рукописях 12 - 15 веков. Вероятно, писец рукописи либо имел в распоряжении несохранившуюся редакцию Параклитика аналогичного состава, либо воспользовался возможностью выбора из целой группы канонов с одинаковым посвящением, если владел списком, включавшим по несколько текстов на каждую седмичную память (подобно грузинскому Октоиху 1093 года из Опизской лавры; см.: Кехелидзе К. Литургические грузинские памятники., Тифлис, 1908, с. 395-398). Сопоставление списков древнерусских Параклитиков 12 - 15 веков свидетельствует о наличии нескольких текстовых редакций книги даже в пределах северо-западной книжной культуры Руси.

Единственный нотированный Параклитик древнейшей стадии рассмотрен в кругу нотированных древнерусских Ирмологий середины 12 - 15 веков (в том числе трех списков 12 - 13 веков и трех списков первой половины 15 века). Сопоставление Параклитика и Ирмологий позволяет сделать следующие выводы: 1) Типографский Параклитик и Ирмологии фиксируют близкие, хотя и не вполне совпадающие мелодико-графические версии канонов и в значительной мере отражают графику византийских версий Ирмология (позиции родственных формул, акцентных невм, отдельных сходных знаков относительно литургического текста). Наблюдаются нарушения акцентуации древнерусского текста даже с учетом акцентных отклонений, связанных с нормами древнейшей акцентной системы, что продиктовано следованием акцентной структуре греческого текста. Членение на строки-колонны приближается к византийским оригиналам, хотя и отличается в версиях 12 - 13 веков большей дробностью (наличием промежуточных каденций в длинных строках). 2) Графическая фиксация ирмосов и тропарей допускает вариантность знаков, в том числе в пределах мелодических формул, причем вариативность записи формул присутствует не только в разных рукописях, но и в пределах одного списка, например, в тропарях Параклитика, нотированных по модели одного ирмоса. 3) Роспев тропарей по модели ирмоса допускает несовпадение границ текстовых строк и мелодических формул, когда каденция формулы попадает на середину строки или даже слова, что свидетельствует о стремлении к сохранению мелодической структуры оригинала. 4) Представление о неизменности текстовой и мелодико-графической редакций Ирмология, а значит и Параклитика, на протяжении нескольких веков (12 - первая половина 15 вв.) является не вполне точным. Рукописи первой половины 15 в. и последней четверти 15 в. дают представление о постоянном процессе редактирования текстов песнопений и их мелодического оформления. Три Ирмология первой половины 15 в. отличаются не только от древнейших и позднейших списков, но и значительно расходятся друг с другом, причем одна и та же рукопись может приближаться то к древнейшим спискам, то к более поздним. Это проявляется в изменении членения текстов на строки уже в рукописях первой половины 15 в. (тенденция к укрупнению строк, изъятию промежуточных каденций), частичном литературном редактировании (замена лексики, сохраняющаяся в более поздних списках), частичном редуцировании полугласных и переакцентировке, отражающей тенденцию к фиксации русского ударения, иногда - в замене мелодико-графических формул. Рукописи последней четверти 15 - 17 вв. могут более точно отражать строчное строение византийского оригинала, чем древнейшие русские рукописи (это касается промежуточных каденций, исчезающих в ирмосах из списков Ирмология позднейшей поры).

Исследование Типографского Параклитика в кругу родственных памятников Ирмологий 12 - 15 вв. позволяет существенно уточнить формы усвоения и трансформации византийского первоисточника; этот процесс был непрямолинейным, неодинаково отразился в разных списках певческих книг, принадлежащих одной стадии развития.

Two musical versions of the Byzantine Heirmologion(new facts to the Strunk's hypothesis)

In the Byzantine Heirmologion of the X-XVth cent. two main melodic versions can be distinguished. One version is found in the MSS of the X-XIIIth cent., the other one appears first in the sources of the 2nd half of the XIIIth cent. and can be followed until the late XVth cent. The first version is rather stable, while the second one exists in many melodic variants. Representative examples of the 1st melodic version are found in the Heirmologia Saba 83, Ivireon 470, E. .II; the 2nd version is contained in the MSS Saba 599, Sinai 1256, Petersburg 121 and other sources. Two melodic versions differ in their melodic lines, musical formulas, modal organisation (ambitus, dominating and final tones).

Melodic versions of the Byzantine Heirmologion were considered by C.Høeg, M.Velimirovic, O.Strunk, R.Busch, I.Papathanasiou. Differences between two main melodic versions were being explained by their different local origin. As another solution, the second version was regarded as the later one, a result of melodic evolution of the 1st version. We agree with the hypothesis of O.Strunk, who suggested that the two versions belong to two essentially different parallel traditions: written tradition (the 1st version) and oral tradition (the 2nd version). But O.Strunk didn't know any evidence which could confirm, that the "oral" version existed before the 1257, the date of the earliest MS containing this version (Sinai 1258).

We found the proofs for the Strunk's hypothesis in the Old Rus heirmoi of the XII-XVIIth cent.; their single melodic version contains features of both "written" and "oral" versions of the Byzantine Heirmologion, the elements of the "written" version being prevailing. This means, that in the late Xth cent., when the Byzantine chant was accepted in Rus, the "oral" melodic version of the Heirmologion was already in use in Byzantium.

The comparative analysis of the melodic and modal peculiarities in the two versions brought us to the conclusion that the "oral" melodic version of heirmoi is more archaic than the written one. Melodic style, final formulas and modal organization in the "written" version is typical of the idiomela of the VIII-IXth cent., created in classical octoechos system. The "oral" version has primitive archaic melos; its final tones don't agree with the classic octoechos norms, but appear to resemble those in psalmody and other early genres of Byzantine chant. All these features, as we believe, reflect the Heirmologion style before the VIIIth

OLD-BYZANTINE SOURCES OF THE XIV-th CENTURY SLAVIC OCTOECHOS

Our study is devoted to the most archaic type of the Slavic Octoechos without notation, practically unknown in modern science. It best remained in later Old-Russian copies made in Pskov and Novgorod in the XIII-XIV-th centuries. Old-Russian Octoechos is a kind of a service book in which the hymns of eight modes are arranged according to their liturgical genre. It consists of two main parts: so called "Izborny" (i.e. Selected) Octoechos and Parakletike. Izborny Octoechos includes separate groups of Stichera Anastasima, Kathisma Anastasima, Stichera Parakletika and Makarismes. Parakletike includes kanons of eight modes for the whole week. The archaic composition of the Old-Russian Octoechos makes us suppose that this type of the collection of 8-mode hymns must have been the first Slavic reception of Byzantine Parakletike.

This puts forward two essential questions to answer: 1) What type of Byzantine liturgical book does the translated Slavic Octoechos refer to? 2) When was the first Slavic translation of the Greek Parakletike made?

The comparative study of several copies of palaeobyzantine Parakletike - namely Sinait. gr. 1593-776, 777, 778, 794 (IX-XI cent.) - showed that the universal principle of hymn organization in the Greek Parakletike of the IX-XI centuries without notation was their systematic order. The Old-Russian Octoechos of the XIV-th century belongs to the same type of a chantbook as those Greek copies of Parakletike.

As far as the origins of its two main parts are concerned, various collections of Stichera and Kathisma of 8 modes had already been existing in liturgical tradition of Palestine and Sinai by the beginning of the VIII-th century. In the middle of the VIII-th century one version of this collection, presumably derived from Damascene's hymnography school, was codified in the monastery of St. Saba and used as a model in the creation of chantbooks of this kind. Later it was adapted by the monks of the Studios monastery and spread everywhere together with the Studite typikon.

The collection of week-day kanons of the Parakletike was first formed in Constantinople during the IX-X centuries. The leading role in its creation belonged to Joseph Hymnograph (+886). Then it spread all over the Byzantine empire expanded by the cycles of 8-mode kanons devoted to locally honoured saints.

The Slavonic translation of the Old-Byzantine Parakletike dates back to approximately the end of the X-th - the beginning of the XI-th centuries and also has its origins in Constantinople. The archaic type of the Greek Parakletike was preserved in Old-Russian tradition of chantbook and remained invariable up to the end of the XIV-th century.

ВИЗАНТИЙСКАЯ ИДЕЯ ИСОНА В МНОГОГОЛОСНОЙ МУЗЫКЕ

В конце XV-XVI вв. важнейшая христианская идея подобия с мощью силой проявилась в русском церковно-певческом искусстве. В невенных сборниках начали записывать демественный распев, отличительной чертой которого было пропевание мелодии на фоне непрерывно звучащего тона - исона (Isop - греч. - ровно). Сама суть исона, несущего идею "равного", в разных формах существовала в византийской музыке с VII в. и широко распространилась в странах христианского мира (Сербия, Болгария, Грузия и др.). Исон назывался в византийских трактатах как "царь всех знаков", "первый по природе и положению". Он символизировал Св. Троицу, выступал в роли центра звуковысотной системы. Без него исполнение песнопений было невозможно. Графического выражения в византийской нотации исон не имел.

Функция исона, по нашему мнению, в полном объеме перешла в русское демество. В музыкально-теоретических пособиях исон назывался "строкой", в нотации выражался графемой *Ѳ*. Знак *Ѳ*, как и исон, "царствовал" в своей нотации: выписывался киноварью, его размеры на много превышали другие музыкальные знаки, иногда декорировался. Знак *Ѳ* и сопровождающие его обозначения давали понятную для русских исполнителей информацию о выдержанном тоне, о высоте его звучания, о месте его включения и о времени его интонирования.

В древнерусской музыке идея византийского исона оказалась настолько плодотворной, что перешла в ранние формы многоголосных, так называемых строчных, песнопений. Этот уникальный по своим музыкальным особенностям самобытный пласт церковно-певческого искусства, не имеет аналогов в мире. Его традиция прервалась в начале XVIII в. под воздействием западно-европейского многоголосия.

Византийские традиции
в новых церковных распевах Московской Руси конца XV в.

В истории русского церковного пения последняя четверть XV в. стала временем появления в богослужебной практике новых распевов – путевого, демественного и большого, – относящихся к мелизматическому типу; для них характерны замедленная просодия текста, большой внутрислоговой распев, более свободное использование ладовой переменности, синкопированного и пунктирного ритма. Важнейшие черты этих распевов сближают их с кондакарным пением, родственным древней византийской мелизматике.

Обновление музыкального чина богослужения было вызвано изменением исторических условий и новыми идеологическими веяниями: укреплением Московской Руси после освобождения от татарского ига, фактическим перемещением центра православия в Москву в связи с падением Византии и началом формирования концепции "Москва – III Рим", которая в этот период звучала как "Москва – новый град Константина".

Державная преемственность Московской Русью древнекиевских традиций не отвергала духовных связей с Византией. Это отразилось даже в греческом названии одного из важнейших новых распевов "демеством" (Московский великокняжеский летописный свод 1479 г.), что напоминало о доместиках Киевской Руси и Византии.

Преемственность относилась и к области литургики, что сказалось на музыкальном чине богослужения. Торжественность чина кафедральных соборов, идущая от Типика Великой церкви св. Софии в Константинополе, создавала условия для развития мелизматических распевов.

Сравнение новой мелизматики конца XV в. и кондакарного пения обнаруживает немало сходства в жанрах, исполнительских особенностях, типологии певческих книг и знаковой системе.

Для репертуара новых распевов и кондакарного пения характерно использование жанров, имеющих важное смысловое и драматургическое значение в службе, а также жанров, требовавших пространного изложения напевов на время совершения обряда.

Отголоски сольного и ансамблевого исполнения, звучавшего в последованиях Великой церкви, слышны в отдельных песнопениях демества и большого распева.

Византийские традиции книжной культуры, связанные с мелизматическим пением, проявляются в книжности Московской Руси. Так, некоторые демественные подборки в списках XVI в. напоминают своим составом раздел азматиков Благовещенского кондакаря, восходящий к греческой книге хорового пения – Азматикону. Через типологию Кондакаря византийские влияния прослеживаются и на Демественнике, который, как и Кондакарь, составлен по музыкальному принципу и объединяет разножанровые, но одностилевые песнопения; обе книги включают избранные жанры минейного, триодного и воскресного циклов.

Наконец, графика демественных и путевых знамен, основанная на столповом знамени, использует отдельные знаки кондакарного письма, которое, как и столповое знамя, ведет свое происхождение от палеовизантийской нотации.

К общим музыкально-стилистическим закономерностям новых распевов и нерасшифрованного кондакарного пения относятся пространный тип распевания текста, применение аненаек, хабув и грецизмов. Возрождение внешних признаков старинного пения показывает сознательное стремление к стилизации, подчеркивающее опору на древние истоки.

Таким образом, демественный, путевой и большой распевы обнаруживают опосредованное влияние Византии на русскую культуру через идеологию, литургический чин соборной церкви и кондакарное пение Древней Руси.

**Migration of early Byzantine Chant Tradition
throughout the Orthodox Slavic world**

Nina K. Ulf-Møller

This paper will analyze how Byzantine Chant tradition was transmitted, and later adopted in the slavic cultures. It will discuss the ways in which the different genres, melodies and notation types were transplanted and adapted to their new regions [Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Ukraine] under forced or non-forced written and oral migration. This study also follows the evolution of the Byzantine Chant, which once transplanted into new soil, continues its independent development under the new conditions. These encompass the standard liturgical text, musical notation and structure, accentuation, musical and textual formulas as well as the development of new forms leading to the appearance of local characteristics and variants of the transmitted Byzantine Chant.

L'OPUSCULE "SUR L'ORIGINE DES MODES" ATTRIBUE A
BASILE DE CESAREE DANS LES SOURCES MEDIEVALES
ARMENIENNES

La littérature médiévale arménienne compte une série d'oeuvres traduites, originales et compilées consacrées à la découverte et à l'interprétation des modes. Ces écrits reflètent les différentes étapes de l'évolution de l'Octoéchos arménien.

Parmi les interprétations des modes, deux types de texte sont spécialement intéressants, tous les deux attribués à Basile de Césarée, aux titres analogues, mais aux contenus différents. Le sujet du présent exposé est le texte du type A connu en deux versions: brève et prolix. Le titre mentionne aussi le nom du traducteur. C'est Stépanos Siounétsi (VII-VIIIe siècles), l'un des plus brillants représentants de la dernière période de l'école grécophile, ayant systématisé l'Octoéchos arménien, introduit le genre du canon byzantin en Arménie et utilisé la combinaison préalable des neumes-khazes dans la musique spirituelle arménienne.

Le titre et le début même du texte témoignent aussi bien des notions panthéistes de la période archaïque que des échos arméniennes de la tradition esthétique antique. Les noms des musiciens et des savants connus d'après la mythologie et l'histoire grecques s'y accompagnent de mentions d'éléments et de phénomènes naturels, du monde animal, des arts et des prophètes. Les altérations des noms grecs des quatre principaux modes musicaux indiquent également l'origine grecque du texte.

L'on comprend que le nom de Basile de Césarée dans le titre peut être simplement conventionnel, car aucune liste de ses oeuvres ne contient à ce jour un écrit intitulé "Περὶ ἤχου".

Il n'est toutefois pas exclu que le texte qui nous intéresse, non traduit jusqu'à présent en aucune langue européenne, a conservé de fragments d'un texte grec perdu, consacré à l'interprétation des modes et appartenant à la plume de Basile le Bienheureux ou d'un autre auteur grec.

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6332

Byzantine Chant and the Early Slavic Sources

To what extent did the Byzantine aesthetic, as it spread through Eastern Europe and Russia, assume local features? And, does the evidence we have perhaps reflect a balance no longer visible in the Greek sources alone? While both are important questions, the second is paramount especially in the quest for "origins", the central problem in chant history East and West.

Emerging as it does within this vital context, the rich body of early Slavic musical documentation offers particular challenges dealing with methods of transmission, the provenance of the notation, the relationship of melody and text in view of the translation of original Greek hymns into Old Church Slavonic, and the fundamental expansion of Byzantine usage into what might be termed a *translingual liturgical melos*—all issues resilient among specialists for several generations now. But there is still a substantial task to be accomplished before the subject can be brought to bear with any certain impact in the broad perspective.

Medieval Russian sources of the *sticherarion* offer a marked case in point. Dating mostly from the pre-Mongol period as far back as the 12th century, these rare holdings in the libraries of Moscow and St. Petersburg suggest the need to test the possibility of new windows on the evolution of a quintessential Byzantine musical and hymnographic complex.

GREEK CHANTS IN THE UKRAINIAN HYMNOGRAPHICAL ANTHOLOGY *HEIRMOLOGION*

In the Ukrainian hymnographical anthology *Heirmologion* in which the musical texts were notated with so-called “hammer-headed notation” the Greek chants (in Ukrainian — “*napivs*”) are significantly standing out. Their texts are underlain in Greek, have references to the “Greek *napiv*” and are clearly outlined with the Greek musical style. The Greek *napivs* appear already in the oldest notated *Heirmologia* of the late 16th and early 17th centuries and are even used in the manuscripts during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The active functioning of the Greek *napivs* in the Ukrainian hymnography is not an accidental phenomenon. The Ukrainian hymnographical art descended from the Byzantine one, and permanently interacted with it. In the period of its blossoming and activation its repertoire was filled up and enriched by means of the Byzantine chant. This deep and organic connection can be observed in different planes: in the systems of the church musical genres and forms, in the compositional constructions (*Octoechoi*, *Podobni* chants), in notation (especially at the first stage), in modal system, metro-rhythmical organization, intonational relationship. Byzantine aesthetics and musical theory defined the views of Ukrainian authors on the nature of the so-called “*мусікія*”, its theoretical principles and musical terminology.

Greek *napivs*, that is chants, with the Greek underlay one can find in the 16th century in some neumatic manuscripts of the Ukrainian origin; for example, in the collection from the middle 16th century. I mean here Δόξα καὶ θεός, Cherubim chant Νεάνες ἢ τὰ χερουβίμ. The Greek *napiv* in the Ukrainian *Heirmologia* is determined by a few signs, as following: indications in the form of glosses, headers, remarks “*по грецкы*”, “*грецкоє*”, “*грецкый*”; Greek text underlay, and clear stylish peculiarity. And only rarely by the references on the Greek *napivs* one can meet Church Slavonic text underlay. These are mainly the manuscripts of later origin (18th c.), as well as Ukrainian and Belarusian copies created in Russia. The peculiarity of the Greek *napivs* in the Ukrainian *Heirmologia* is their constancy. In all the Ukrainian *Heirmologia* fifteen chants with Greek text and *napiv* are found. In most of cases they are important chants of the liturgy. It was an old custom to sing them during the Bishop Liturgy in Greek *napiv*.

The index of frequency shows that not all the chants of the liturgy from *Heirmologia* were popular in the same degree. Most of all one can meet “*Ἅγιος ὁ θεός*”, Cherubim-chant, and “*Ἄκσιον ἐστίν*”. Thus, we see here a clear accent at the culminating and most solemn chants of Liturgy. Apparently, the whole Bishop Liturgy in Greek was served in the Cathedrals and large monasteries while in the parish churches only the culminating chants were sung in Greek. The whole liturgy in Greek *napiv* one can find in one of the *Heirmologia* from the late 17th century.

A stable and clearly outlined repertoire of Greek *napiv* in the Ukrainian *Heirmologia* proves convincingly that the Greek *napiv* during 16th–18th centuries stayed an actual one in the Ukrainian liturgical practices and was standing out thanks to its original musical style. It was closely connected with the newest phase of development of Byzantine music — the so-called calophonic singing. At the same time, this Modern Greek church-singing style had the clear signs of the European Renaissance style. Therefore, the new Renaissance style came to Ukraine in the clothes of the traditional Byzantine art. This has broken the confessional barrier and promoted the swift entrance of the Ukrainian hymnography into the stylish stream of the European Renaissance.

Hilkka Seppälä:

The System of the Byzantine Church Music and the Orthodox Church Music in Finland

The basis of the Byzantine ecclesiastical music theory is formed by the system of the octoechos or eight echoi (modes). This system crystallized in the 8th century reflects not only the theoretical ideas of music, but also contains a lot of aesthetic thoughts and dogmatic of the Orthodox Church. The Byzantine elements had strong influence on the formation of Orthodox ecclesiastical music generally; that is caused by the normative character of the Orthodox arts and are visible in the architecture, in the icon painting and in the church music.

The Byzantine echoi meant musical scales, but also they gave expression to the liturgical time of the weeks (eight weeks period makes one eight-shifted unit), feasts and Lent. The system of the echoi fixed to a high degree the liturgical musical forms, not only as part of the single melody, but even in the great entirety.

The Finnish Orthodox ecclesiastical music belongs historically to the Slavic Russian music tradition. However, it is believed, that the earliest church singing was directly linked with the Byzantine tradition by one of the founding fathers of the oldest Karelian monastery.

With the background of the music theory, especially the principle of the eight echoi it is fruitful to make investigations into tradition of Orthodox Church music. In the connections between the Byzantine and the Finnish Orthodox ecclesiastical chant there are many things, which can be explained on the basis of this theory.

In the oldest Finnish liturgical books has the term echos (Russian glas) been translated by the word "ääni" (voice), later "sävelmä" (melody) and "sävelmäjakso" (series of melody). As I have shown in my dissertation, the Byzantine conception of echoi is in the Finnish use more limited. When the Byzantine term assumes that an echos uses determined modal range in a fixed manner only some of these manners have remained. In the Finnish chant each of the eight echoi includes only a few melody lines. The melody has become the central unit instead of the modal range and the same echos-melody is employed in a slightly varying form. The principle of melody patterns is very common in the Byzantine chant, too. Here the melody, however, as an idea is wider than in the Finnish chant; it has almost innumerable forms. In addition to this (further) the Finnish Orthodox musical material can be divided into two parts, and only one of them belongs to the system of octoechos, the other lies outside the system. However, there are common features too: some of the melodies have even close connections with the surviving Byzantine melodic tradition.

There are also factors in which the Finnish chant can be seen to differ from the authentic Byzantine tradition. These are: 1) the music outside the echos-system, 2) the harmonization music, and 3) musical notation. However, part of the melodies which seems to be outside the system have been found to belong to it. Very important observation has been made: the five-line system is not keeping with Byzantine theoretical thought. The harmonization of the chant contains several kinds of solutions. Some of them are acceptable from the point of the echoi, others not.

At all events, the Finnish Orthodox ecclesiastical music has preserved features of the Byzantine tradition and they are found in the characteristics of the echoi.

The Structure of Partess(Multi-Part) Singing Manuscripts
of the Kiev Collection/ About the Reception of the Bizantin
Canon of the Orthodox Service by the Multi-Part Singing/.

The Kiev collection of partess/multi-part/ manuscripts includes some books from libraries of Sofia and Kievo-Pechersk monasteries.

The structure of each manuscript set is individual in contrast to canonical service books where the circle of singings and their strict order are defined. It is possible to recognize any signs of Ukrainian Irmologion in the completing of some sets.

These books represent the Orthodox Divine service singing in Ukraine in the 17th-18th Centuries. It is an important and unique moment of radical change of the musical system in the millennial history of the church singing. Complicated interrelations between West European and Bizantin musical traditions arose at the universum of Orthodox service, and both of these traditions had been adapted by Eastern Slavic culture.

One of projections of these interrelations is a way of assimilation of traditional Bizantin canon of service by new multi-part music. So the investigation of sets of multi-part compositions revealed the dedication of majority of works to main events of the church life, e.g. Liturgy, Holy Week and Easter, feasts of Orthodox Church.

Some compositions are Divine services or selected parts of them. Big part of works are "ЗАПРЯЧІ КОМЧЕРТІ" /Eucharist concerts/. The tradition of this genre had been formed after the reform of church texts when the manner of short recitation of Eucharist verses arose and the pause in the service appeared. This genre had not been limited by canonic text and melody. It had been intended for reflection of the main mood of any day or feast. So authors of the church music first time displayed the creative will, became a creators of music to text they chose just in this genre.

**Ioasaph Pantokratorinos,
Composer and Scribe of Musical Manuscripts**

The present paper should be seen as a small tribute to the memory of the man who had originally planned this contribution to the musical section of the Congress, our friend and mentor, Jørgen Raasted.

Raasted was initially inspired by the findings of Schartau in the diminutive collection of late Byzantine manuscripts belonging to the Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen (formerly Institute of Greek and Latin Medieval Philology, IGLM).

Based on the ascriptions of certain settings in our "MS 3,8" (around 1800) to **Ioasaph** Pantokratorinos, this manuscript in its entirety could be identified as the product of the said Ioasaph. Furthermore, also a section of our "MS 6,8" (after 1814) was written by Ioasaph, although he now styles himself **Ioseph** Pantokratorinos.

Irrespective of the slight change of name, we are without doubt confronted with the same scribe. But a more fundamental change has taken place: while the music in "MS 3,8" is still written in the latest stage of late Byzantine "Round" notation, the section of "MS 6,8" written by Ioasaph/Ioseph Pantokratorinos is in "Chrysantine" or "*Nea methodos*" Notation. Only two other MSS are known to us to be written by Ioasaph/Ioseph Pantokratorinos, namely Patmos 816 and Samos 74, both produced immediately before the notational reform.

Fortunately a few of Ioasaph/Ioseph's own settings of the same pieces can be found in both Copenhagen manuscripts, thus offering an opportunity - perhaps not so frequent as might be imagined - of comparing a composer's treatment of the same material in both the old and the new notation.

The comparison shows that Ioasaph in the "New Method" version generally follows his older composition very faithfully: the differences seem mainly to consist in slight precisions of certain neume groups and, occasionally, in the addition of new melodic material. We shall, in due course, return to this interesting comparison.

OZANA IRINA ALEXANDRESCU,
A CATALOGUE OF XVII-TH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS IN ROMANIA
BUCHAREST

In the Romanian Provinces the Byzantine tradition music was for centuries the main form of cultured, professional music. Byzantine tradition music is to be found in today's Romanian collections in over 250 manuscripts ranging from the XI-th century to the beginning of the XIX-th century. The XVIIth century was largely overlooked by musicological research due to the apparent lack of significant data in existing documents. After the manuscripts of the XVIth century marked by the flourishing of the Musical School of Putna and by the personality of the first Romanian author, the interest of researchers shifted to the manuscripts of the XVIIIth century, when the first notated manuscript in the Romanian language was written. Considering the above-mentioned gap, we have embarked upon filling it up with a catalogue of XVIIth century manuscripts.

The introductory study comprises a presentation of the manuscripts previous to the XVIIth century and a synopsis of culture in the XVIIth century. It also refers to the dating criteria we have considered for establishing the documents belonging to the XVIIth century and some parallel transcriptions of settings justifying our opinion of the evolution of music in the XVIIth century. The catalogue of the Byzantine tradition music notated manuscripts from the XVIIth century comprises 32 manuscripts and does not take the year 1700 as a fixed limit. The volumes which bear dated owner notices from the first quarter of the XVIIIth century are also included in the catalogue.

Each manuscript description has been structured along five coordinates: 1. the codicological data; 2. the liturgical and musical contents; 3. the list of all the authors mentioned in the manuscript; 4. strictly musical aspects; 5. cross references regarding the settings (sometimes the corresponding page, contents coordination for several volumes). The manuscripts included in the catalogue are to be found in Romania and a few others, of Romanian origin, are kept in collections abroad. The literature published so far in Romania, which is already two decades old, was based on a global view of the notated manuscripts. Thus, relying on more recent bibliography and focusing on the XVIIth century only, the catalogue readjusts inaccurate information and reconsiders some of the previous dating.

I have drawn up this catalogue so that it might become a useful tool for all those interested in studying the XVIIth century manuscripts or simply in getting information in connection with them.

DANIEL SUCEAVA, QUELQUES
COPISTES GRECS DE MANUSCRITS DE MUSIQUE BYZANTINE DES
XVII^e ET XVIII^e SIÈCLES DANS LES COLLECTIONS DE ROUMANIE

BUCHAREST

Les recherches des dernières années portées sur la musique de tradition byzantine, d'une part, et les récents répertoires et catalogues de manuscrits grecs, de l'autre, ont stimulé et aidé nos propres recherches sur ce type de documents dans les collections et bibliothèques de Roumanie. Le répertoire des scribes grecs des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, rédigé par Mme Maria Politi et paru récemment à Athènes dans le Bulletin du Centre pour l'Histoire et la Paléographie 6 (1994) 313-645, la continuation du catalogue des manuscrits de musique byzantine du Mont Athos, du à M. Gr. Stathis (vol. III, Athènes, 1993), l'achèvement du catalogue des manuscrits des Météores, par M.D.Sofianos (vol.II: 1984; vol.III: 1986; vol.IV/1-2: 1993), l'étude de M.Charitonas Karanasios, paru dans Balkan Studies 34 (1993)5-16 ("Recherche über die griechischen Handschriften in Rumänien"), entre autres, nous ont permis de compléter, dans nombre de cas, les données sur l'activité dans les pays roumains des suivants copistes grecs des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles.

1. Anastasios Vaïas (avec un heirmologion daté de 1772, au Musée du Monastère Neamț, ms.gr.14).
2. Apostolos Konstas Chios (BAR, ms.gr.898, heirmologion de 1796).
3. Damaskinos, hiéromoine de Docheiariou (Bibliothèque de l'Université de Iași, ms.gr. III-85, f.204 v).
4. Dionysios Krokódeilos (BAR, ms.gr.778).
5. Théodoulos monachos Aineítis (BAR, ms.gr.760).
6. Jacques, évêque de Ganochora (BAR, ms.gr.1096, daté de 1624; le manuscrit fut déjà mentionné par Linos Politis, "Persistances byzantines dans l'écriture liturgique du XVII^e siècle", dans La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S. No 559, Paris 1977, p.375, sous cote erronée, et dans le répertoire de Mme Maria Politi, op.cit., p.454).
7. Ignatios, hiéromoine de Mytilène (copiste probable du ms.gr. 954 de la BAR).
8. Ignatios, hiéromoine (Iași, Bibliothèque des Archives, ms.gr. 204, stichéaire de 1730).
9. Jean Chrysoberges de Ianina (BAR, ms.gr.888, daté de 1718).
10. Joasaph, hiérodiacre et mousikos (BAR, ms.gr. 1414, daté de 1797).
11. Kallistos, hiéromoine au monastère de Mărgineni (Craiova, Musée d'histoire, ms.gr. 52).
12. Méthode de Vatopédi (Bucarest, Bibliothèque du S. Synode, ms.gr.43).
13. Melchisédek, hiérodiacre de Pantokratoros (BAR, ms.gr.147).
14. Nicéphore Kantouniaris Chios (BAR, mss.gr.784 et 835).

Byzantine musical manuscripts of National Library of Russia (Thésès)

Among the musical manuscripts of National Library of Russia are seven codices and 33 fragments of the Byzantine period.

The manuscripts date from 10th century to 1434.

There are books on liturgy and different fragments with notation in music: 3. Στιχηράρια, 2. Τριώδια, Μηναῖον and Εἰρμολόγιον. The fragments belong to Στιχηράρια (13), Εἰρολόγια (5), Μηναῖα (5), Παπαδικαί (4), Τριώδια (2), Πεντηκοστάρια (2) and Μαθηματάριον (1).

The autographs of Byzantine musicians are of particular value.

Γρηγόριος — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 361. Fragment (fol. 2) from Εἰρμολόγιον of XI c. (*Codex Lavrae B. 32 (152)*).

Στέφανος δομέστικος — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 362. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of XI c. (*Codex Sinaiticus* 272 (1214)).

Ἀνθης or Ἀνθη(μο)ς — *Codex Petropolitanus Graecus* 789. Στιχηράριον of 1106.

Νικηφόρος ἱερέυς — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 360. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of 1177 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1218).

Νεόφυτος ἱερομόναχος Δαμασκηνός:

1. *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 439. Fragment (fol. 2) from Στιχηράριον of 1236 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1231).

2. *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 425. Fragment (fol. 4) from Στιχηράριον (?) of XIII c.

Δανιὴλ ἱερομόναχος — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 368. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of 1292 (*Codex Vatopedius* 1486).

Εἰρήνη, θυγάτηρ Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἁγιοπετρίτου καὶ καλλιγράφου — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 371. Fragment (fol. 1) from Εἰρμολόγιον of 1309 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1256).

Μανουὴλ Χαλκεόπουλος — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 366. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of 1321 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1321).

Γεώργιος ἱερέυς — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 441. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of 1333 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1586).

Θεόληπτος μητροπολίτης Λιβύης — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 440. Fragment (fol. 1) from Στιχηράριον of 1374 (*Codex Sinaiticus* 1229).

Μάρκος ἱερομόναχος ἐκ τῶν Ξανθοπούλων — *Manuscriptus Petropolitanus Graecus* 442. Fragment (fol. 1) from Μαθηματάριον τοῦ Στιχηραρίου of 1434 (*Codex Vatopedius* 1527).

Codex Petropolitanus Graecus 121 created in 1302 is the earliest manuscript in which the name of the great Iann Koukouzeles was mentioned.

Analysing of the manuscripts gives invaluable matter for Byzantine music study.

A thoroughgoing content analysis of the hymn *Akathistos* brings out a surprising result, seen from the point of view of the modern Mariology, when the three "Mariological" concepts: 'Parthenos', 'Theotokos' and 'Second Eve', that were in usage in the first four centuries, are applied to the text. The concepts 'Parthenos' and 'Theotokos' are found in the hymn as explicit terms as well as in metaphors. The actual principle for interpretation is the concept 'Second Eve', even though it is disclosed solely in metaphors and in the structure of the hymn.

The main theme of the *Akathistos* is the incarnation, the birth of the Logos and its meaning to the mankind. The totality (the prooimion "To prostakhthen mystikos" and 24 strophes), however, proves that Christ is not the chief character, but His Mother, for she has central position in sixteen strophes and moreover, the last strophe is a strong impressive petition to the Mother of the Logos. Mary is praised through the familiar themes of the Gospels and an account of the apocryphal Pseudo-Matthew (XXIII). It is also remarkable that twice (str. 19 and 23) the Lord himself is told to teach all to praise her. In the most important strophe 15, which defines the nature of the Logos, the virgin birth ("tokos ek Parthenou") is mentioned. The Theotokos is praised as a living temple (verse 23.2) – an idea characteristic of the Formula unionis of 433. In no less than twelve strophes (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23) the pure, unsullied virgin womb or its mystery is emphasized. All this suggests a close association to the Council of Ephesus (431) and its dogma "Theotokos".

The *Akathistos* is also called the "Salutations of the Mother of God". These are a series of salutations or epithets defining the Theotokos, in all 144 sentences. The abundance of the metaphors in the salutations makes a methodical challenge to the research, since the metaphors create an intellectual dimension to the 'Theotokos', which term virtually in the text is confined to the womb and childbearing. It is, however, unjust to regard these metaphors as mere rhetorical acclamations. As to the term 'Parthenos', which is a paradox of a virginity that unites childbirth, and includes implicitly every aspect of chastity, it does not either cover the whole scale of properties addressed to the Theotokos. The text itself explains this unlogical circumstance, for the first four salutations reveal at once that they concern the 'Second Eve': "Hail, for through thee joy shall shine forth: Hail, for through thee the curse shall cease. Hail, recalling of fallen Adam: Hail, deliverance from the tears of Eve." (Ak. 1.5-8, transl. by Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, *The Lenten Triodion*, 1977).

The hymn dates from the period of the typological exegesis – God has the plan for redeeming the mankind through the incarnation. After the theory of recapitulation Mary is seen as the New or Second Eve, who repairs the disobedience of Eve. Consequently Mary's consent to the announcement of the angel Gabriel is understood as the precondition of the incarnation. The 'Second Eve' relates the salvation historical meaning of Mary's consent to the eschatological context, because the incarnation implies the Second Parousia of Christ, and Mary as the only obedient and therefore free from fear before the Righteous Judge can pray for the people. This very matter is seen in the structure of the *Akathistos*: the first four strophes describe the Annunciation, Mary's consent, and in the last strophe, addressed to the Mother, who gave birth to the Logos, the reference to the Last Judgment is expressed in words "deliver from the punishment to come". The properties belonging to the concept 'Second Eve' are to be recognized in the metaphors, which represent typological interpretation, but their typology is not based on the parallel Adam-Christ.

The metaphorical analysis of the salutations reveals that there are in the image of Mary of the *Akathistos* other aspects, which cannot be reasoned by the concepts mentioned above. Nevertheless they do not reflect the concepts of the later Mariology.

KRITICOU FLORA
L'EVOLUTION MUSICALE DE L'HYMNE AKATHISTE

Dans cette présentation nous allons procéder à une analyse comparative des compositions de l'Hymne Akathiste transmises par les manuscrits, à partir du XIV^e siècle et jusqu'au XIX^e.

Le but de cette analyse est de parvenir à une vision claire de la transmission de l'Hymne Akathiste en tant que pièce musicale, ainsi des influences et des échanges entre des traditions musicales et des différentes compositions. Dans cette optique, cette hymne est d'un intérêt particulière: elle figure parmi les plus anciennes compositions du répertoire byzantin et a évidemment reçu des diverses influences au cours des siècles. En outre, ce sera particulièrement intéressant de suivre l'accumulation des éléments rapportés, qui se sont rajoutés à l'hymne akathiste dès l'époque de sa première apparition dans les manuscrits notes.

Ces réflexions ne se seront proposées que pour souligner l'intérêt d'une étude, qui tant du point de vue musicologique que musicale et scientifique, apportera de fructueuses réponses sur le sujet épineux de l'Hymne Akathiste.

LA RELATION TEXTE-MÉLODIE DANS L'ACATHISTE KALOPHONIQUE

ADRIANA SIRLI

En tant qu'homélie poétique chantée (*kontakion*), l'hymne Acathiste représente sans doute un terrain privilégié de manifestation de l'esthétique *kalophonique*, dont les principes fondamentaux sont l'expressivité de la parole et l'exultation mystique. Le premier se traduit par diverses techniques de manipulation du texte - ce qui, sur le plan musical entraîne, également, des changements significatifs. Le second principe se traduit par l'insertion d'interludes incantatoires (*teretismoï*). Par conséquent, la construction métrique et mélodique traditionnelle, fondée sur des symétries presque parfaites, est mise en cause. Ainsi, la forme icônique de l'Acathiste revêt-elle, dans le style *kalophonique*, une forme symbolique.

D.J.Felton

'The role of the Akathistos hymn in the painted programme of the Pantanassa at Mistra'

University of Sussex, England

I intend to define the role of the painted scenes illustrating the Akathistos hymn in the Pantanassa at Mistra, particularly as they help us to understand Palaiologan court culture in Mistra in the Fifteenth Century. I shall address issues of sources and models for the cycle, the placement of the cycle within the overall fresco-programme and its viewing, its style (does the cycle fit within the manneristic mode of other parts of the programme ? is the cycle as stylistically 'desacralised' (Mouriki) as other parts of the programme ? how far does the cycle give evidence of the the 'synthetic unicum' (Mouriki) forged in the Pantanassa from western, Islamic and Serbian elements ?) and its function (mapped against a politico-historical, an intellectual and a religious background).

I shall illustrate my talk with slides, and complement it by a poster-display.

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE LITURGY IN THE GREAT CHURCH, A.D. 1200:
A PRECIOUS SOURCE FROM NOVGOROD

Although we are in possession of liturgical books that indicate how the Divine Liturgy should be celebrated during the Comnenian period, we are well advised to remember that such liturgical manuals are by their very nature conservative and might well reflect not contemporary practice but rather traditional ideals of ecclesiastical practice. Eyewitness descriptions of Byzantine liturgical rites are much rarer, and, in a certain way, more valuable for their preservation of the nature of the actual performance of the ceremonies. Very important in this regard are the notes of the Russian burgher Dobrinja Jadrejkovic, later to become Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod. The Novgorodian visitor describes the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in the Great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople in the presence of the Patriarch some four years before the taking of the city by the Latins and the subsequent interruption of the performance of the Great-Church variant of the "cathedral rite" in the city. The core of his description probably reflects the main liturgy celebrated in the Great Church on May 21, the feast of Sts. Constantine and Helen and the Sunday of the Three Hundred Eighteen Holy Fathers [of the Council of Nicæa], in the year 1200.

The ceremony the Russian visitor describes is an evolutionary hybrid combining archaic elements of the ritual specific to St. Sophia, ostentatious ceremonies reflecting the size and importance of the foremost cathedral of the Empire, and significant additions to the standard Cathedral rite that have clear monastic antecedents. Among the archaic usages still in force in the early thirteenth-century Great Church were the apparent performance of the rite of preparation (*proskomedie*) in the separate treasury building that we call the *skeuophylakion* rather than at a special table of preparation in the sanctuary itself and the continuing use of a choir of deaconesses at least at certain times. The enormous size of St. Sophia is probably responsible for the custom recorded by Anthony of Novgorod of the singing of the *Cherubicon* hymn through three times by three different kinds of singers. This repetition must have been needed to fill the time that the procession bringing the eucharistic elements to the altar needed to make its circuit from the *skeuophylakion* building through the church and into the chancel. Similarly, it was probably to ensure the text being heard and understood by the members of the vast congregation that the prayer "behind the ambo" was recited simultaneously in the center of the church and immediately in front of the chancel. The size of the church, however, was by no stretch of the imagination responsible for the multiplication of clergy (priests and deacons, as well as, one would assume, the traditional candle bearers, liturgical fan carriers, etc.) taking part in the Great Entrance procession who paraded -- as they did every Sunday and major festival -- the major liturgical treasures of the church. This procession was simply a pompous display of the wealth and power of the capital cathedral.

It seems paradoxical that the triumphalistic ceremony of the Divine Liturgy celebrated in the imperial cathedral of Constantinople was by 1200 nested into the traditional monastic liturgical *ordo*. For, according to Anthony, the set of Sunday-morning services in Constantinople's Cathedral of St. Sophia now began with the monastic tradition of the singing of matins (starting in the narthex, then progressing into the main body of the church proper) and the reading of the monastic Prologue entry for the day. Then the Divine Liturgy was celebrated (in all its pomp), and immediately after ("early though it be," says the Old Russian text) followed the chanting of Vespers -- a curious presentiment of the later Russian development of seemingly endless church services of a "high baroque" liturgical tradition so often noted by foreign visitors.

Evolution stages of the Byzantine rite in Slav copies of Feodor Studit's Typicon.

The Slav Christian tradition keep old Greek texts, which we do not find in origine. As it is known Studit Typicon, which was one of the main regulator of East Christian worship and monk's life, is absent in Greek manuscripts. While the Slav manuscript tradition keeps early copies of Studit Typicon (XI-XII c.).

Slav copies Studit Typicon were studied mostly by Russian liturgists at the beginning of the XX century. They formulated the main problem as a question whether Russian copies reflected the practice of Studit monastery proper or they were the copies of founder's Typicon of patriarch Alexis, which was written in 1034 on the base of different typicon traditions. Modern investigators (M.Arranz, A.Pentkovsky) hold the second point of view, but M.Arranz advanced supposition that the earliest Russian copy (The State Tretjakov Gallery, Sin.Tip.142, XI c.) had an earlier origine then the editorship of patriarch Alexis.

We think however, it is not equal to speak in abstract way about Slav copies as the one text. First of all it is necessary to find out whether they really fix the same text. In connection with the preparation of Studit Typicon for publishing we compared all copies of the XI-XV centuries and drew a conclusion that we have different versions of Typicon. The earliest copy (Sin.Tip. 142), which has only Triodion part, keep a very short version of Typicon. It contains in preference Lectionar indications, in lesser degree indications of Triodion and Oktoechos hymns and does not have Menaia hymns indications almost at all, in spite of they are in others copies. This text could appear in Russia before introduction complete version of the Alexis' editorship of the Studit Typicon. This text could be a simple early version of Greek text or arose as the result of reduction in Russia of the Studit Typicon. The version of the Alexis' editorship is kept in two early manuscripts of XII c. (State Historical Museum, Sin.330, Russian National Library, Sof.1136). They are different Russian versions of this text. We find the third type of Typicon which was written by monk of Studit monastery with the aim of fix oral tradition (as it follows from the text). It is kept in the manuscript of XIV c. (Sin.Tip.144). It is shorter than Sin.330, but do not contain differences of principle. So the problem of a big difference among all of them is not exist.

The influence of hesychasm in Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries has been difficult to analyze, due to the sparseness of theological discourse in Old Russian culture. I here suggest the use of hymns, written in abundance in the 15th century, as a source in the study of Russian hesychasm. This rather overlooked genre, being the most theological, and at the same time most poetical and emotional genre in Old Russian literature will give us the otherwise missing theological texts.

I have closely studied the hymn-texts dedicated to Russia's national saint Sergij written by Pachomij Serb (15th century), in search for hesychastic traits. The light mysticism is here very strongly developed. The Trinity is seen not only as theology but also a part of the divine economy. The service text models a mainly-non dualistic worldview where the demonic element is weakened.

We can also note an utter desinterest in the narrative. Imitations from the Akathistos-hymn with its repetition of the word "radujsja" give the text a meditative character.

All these mentioned traits are essential for hesychasm as presented by Gregory Palamas. Palamas writes in his homily on the day of Dormition of the possibility to depict the divine through hymns, and this is exactly what Pachomij is doing. I like to see the renaissance of hymnography in Russia as well as in Byzantium in that time as a part of the hesychastic movement. The hymns had a theological-contemplative-poetical potential suitable for Hesychasm.

WENDY MAYER, Adelaide.

The Homily as Historical Document: Exploring the problematic via John Chrysostom

It has long been recognised that Christian homilists on occasion refer to significant events of their time, such as wars, political reversals, natural phenomena and disasters. Since the preacher's comments are usually contemporary with the event, at times providing an eye witness account, the transmitted homily can provide the historian of such events with rare and detailed information.

More recently, interest has been stimulated in culling the earlier Christian homilies (those which date prior to the tenth century) for data concerning the fabric and dynamics of contemporary society.

Whether homilies have been used as a record of historical and political events or as a mine of detail concerning the art, architecture, clothing, social institutions or habits of the time, one factor is common. Not infrequently such information has been read and accepted at face value. Yet the sermon is not a document in the usual sense, but a literary genre with its own peculiar biases and agenda. How direct then is the information provided? How is it to be interpreted? Is the relationship between comment and event or description and social detail really so patent?

Numbering almost one thousand and set in two cities significant to the history of the earlier Byzantine empire, the corpus of homilies authentic to John Chrysostom provides a useful testing ground against which to assess this issue. Using as examples the *Homilies on the Statues*, preached following the Antiochene riots of AD 387, and the sermons preached at Constantinople during the troubles which plagued Arcadius in 399-400, an attempt is made to define some basic rules for using homilies as an historical source as well as to point out some of the pitfalls.

NAME OF AUTHOR: Pauline Allen

6422

ABSTRACT TITLE: Severus of Antioch (512-518): the preacher and his audience

ABSTRACT TEXT: Severus, anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch from 512-518, is well known as a dogmatician, but less familiar as a preacher. Yet his surviving homilies, over one hundred in number, preserved in early Syriac translations, give us a picture of an engaged sixth-century pastor, and are in addition a supplementary source for life in Antioch at the time. While in the course of his preaching the patriarch often airs his views on the debate over one or two natures in Christ, he also demonstrates that his audience expected to hear less elevated theology from their pastor in the form of expositions on angels, demons, the role of Mary and the exploits of saints and martyrs. What emerges from these homilies is a preacher for whom pastoral care is paramount, and a varied and not uniformly appreciative audience who listen to him in the churches and martyrial shrines of the metropolis, as well as in the country towns of the patriarchate of Antioch.

THEODORA ANTONOPOULOU

6423

TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION
OF THE HOMILIES OF THE EMPEROR LEO VI

The literary production of the emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912 A.D.) has so far been studied very inadequately. This applies especially to his Homilies which are crucial to a fuller understanding of the Emperor's personality and reign. They consist of forty-two texts, both panegyrics on saints and ecclesiastical feasts and discourses on special occasions that brought together the Church and State.

There is no critical edition of the Homilies nor any publication which includes all of the forty-two texts. The principal edition of the text of the Homilies, published in 1868 by the Athonite hieromonk Akakios, is based on one manuscript, comprises only thirty-four Homilies, contains many editing and printing mistakes, and is nowadays practically inaccessible. Altogether, eighteen manuscripts contain exclusively Leo VI's Homilies, some of which have never been pointed out. Two manuscripts are palimpsests originally produced at the imperial scriptorium. Individual Homilies are contained in approximately eighty other manuscripts. Three of the Homilies remain unpublished.

This Communication discusses the principles, problems and significance of the critical edition of the Homilies of Leo VI which I currently prepare for the Greek series of the Corpus Christianorum.

Andrew of Crete's Homily 'De humana vita et de defunctis': A Re-evaluation

This paper will examine Andrew of Crete's sermon *De humana vita et de defunctis*, which is concerned with death and the remembrance of those who have died. The sermon was probably intended for the Saturday τῆς ἀποκρίω which precedes the Sunday of the Last Judgement, a week before the beginning of Lent. The Classical influences on this sermon have already been explored by Th. Nissen; while acknowledging the importance of his article, I would like in this paper to examine the Christian background of the sermon. Various earlier homilies on the same subject survive, attributed to authors including John Chrysostom, Anastasius of Sinai and John of Damascus. All of these texts stress similar themes: the vanity of human life, equality after death and the hope of eternal life. It is thus clear that a strong theological and literary tradition developed in association with this Saturday and that Andrew of Crete was to a large extent influenced by this in the writing of his sermon. The possibility that negative treatment of the emperor in the sermon reflects the political situation of the early eighth century must also be re-examined in the light of this conclusion. While Andrew's sermon contains few historical details, it does provide information about popular views of human life and mortality in this period.

Name of Author: Joseph A. MUNITIZ

6425

Abstract Title: ANASTASIUS OF SINAI THE PREACHER

Whereas most preachers have to be judged solely from their sermons, the literary production of Anastasius is sufficiently varied to permit an appreciation of his preaching from different angles. Apart from the sermons, which show him addressing a congregation on specific occasions or on specific themes, there are his Questions and Answers, which indicate what sort of knowledge he had of the real problems of the people of his time. This communication tries to investigate the relations between these different sources.

Some Methods Used in Byzantine Rhetoric as Reflected by Euthymius the Athonite in his Georgian Translations

Euthymius Athoneli (the Athonite), a prominent Georgian theologian of the 10th-11th cc., set himself the aim of acquainting the Georgian reader with contemporary Byzantine literature. Some methods of Byzantine rhetoric he could have also well discovered with the help of the so called rhetorical scholia of Basilios Minimus (10th c.) appended to the homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzen. The Greek collections containing the above works appeared on Mt. Athos as early back as in the 10th c.

In the course of translating and compiling the apologetical writings of St. Gregory (or. 2 and or. 3) and making the abbreviated version of or. 2, St. Euthymius used the art of composition and improvisation as rhetorical methods, which were well known from Hellenic and Byzantine rhetorical theories.

The commentaries of Basilios Minimus concern the rhetorical theory about the kinds of homilies and their composition (e.g. comm. to or. 38). These commentaries also treat of two types of speech: a short utterance ("συντόμως") pronounced impromptu and allowing for improvisation ("αὐτοσχεδῶν") in church (e.g. or. 1) and a well-polished extended discourse made out in writing (e.g. or. 2) on the same apologetical problem, written "μετὰ πλείονες τῆς σξολῆς καὶ ἐπιστάσεως" (comm. to or. 2, or. 1).

The theory of composition ("τάξις, οἰκονομία") and improvisation ("τὸ αὐτοσχέδιον") together with furnishing complementary thoughts and reconciling ideas, as well as narrative passages to be inserted in the homily ("συμπλεροματικά καὶ καταστατικά ἔννοιαι; τὰ διηγήματα") are more extensively discussed in Michael Psellos' treatise concerning the so called "ῥητορικὸς χαρακτήρ" of St. Gregory's writings.

Understandably, St. Euthymius could not have used Psellos' work as it was written about a century later, but it is important that, curiously, the appreciation of St. Gregory's rhetoric by the Byzantine scholar and the attitude of the Georgian translator to the Holy Father's rhetorical art are quite similar. Studying the composition of the above translations made by the St. Euthymius makes it abundantly clear that the Georgian scholar had a thorough understanding of one of the peculiarities of St. Gregory's theological style characterised by Psellos as division of the theme ("τέμνω") or joining ("συνείρω") its parts ("ὑποθέσεις") together arbitrarily and according to new rules, thus submitting it to one divine idea (in contradistinction to the modern appreciation of the art of composition in St. Gregory's writings, which maintains that he did not care much for composition in the classical meaning of this rhetorical concept). Following this principle, St. Euthymius, while translating or. 2 as if it were improvised oral speech, joined together the themes about the main didactic and spiritual idea - the inter-relations between the priest and flock, while the rhetorical passages of this homily and the "διηγήματα" he included into or. 3. All this was done by St. Euthymius not mechanically; he did not intend to impose these translations on the reader forcefully, but effected them with natural ease implied by the rules of composition.

Сборник речей, дошедших под авторством Иоанна Мандакуни (Ув.), принято считать одним из первых образцов армянской догматической литературы. Эти речи находятся в реальной зависимости от текстов как переводной, так и оригинальной литературы, они полны ссылок из книг Св. Писания, сочинений отцов вселенской и национальной церковей. Ориентируясь на канон и наполняя текст сравнениями, эпитетами, стереотипными выражениями, автор, при этом стремиться преодолеть тенденции к абстрагированию, оставаясь в рамках собственной образной системы.

В поле зрения Иоанна Мандакуни находятся прежде всего Ефрем Сирин и Иоанн Златоуст. Так, в частности, речь "О беззакониях пьяниц" обнаруживает смысловое и лексическое сходство с "Толкованием на I послание к Тимофею" Иоанна Златоуста, относящимся к наиболее ранним переводам в армянской книжности и трактующим широкий круг вопросов. В указанных сочинениях перекликается ряд фраз, одна из которых, выраженная в речи о пьянстве, невятно, ооретает логическую завершенность благодаря фрагменту из "Толкования" Златоуста.

Налицо общность в лексике и разработке вопросов в пространном варианте речи "О покидающих своих жен" Мандакуни и пассажах из "Послания к Римлянам" Ефрема Сирина. Вместе с тем, встречаются опосредованно использованные выражения, ставшие в речах отцов церкви как бы общим местом, выделяемые неопределенной ссылкой "говорят". В ряде случаев автор не вставляет в повествование текстуальных извлечений из известных ему сочинений, но обнаруживает знание, трактуя известные ему положения, порой полемизируя с автором, отталкиваясь от него.

Текстологический анализ речей Иоанна Мандакуни позволяет корректировать как собственно текст сборника (что учитывается нами при подготовке критического издания), так и хронологические рамки цитируемого переводного или оригинального сочинения.

Compositional Peculiarities of "The Life of St. Nino" as the Proof of its Antique Age

Abstract

In 337 Georgia was converted to Christianity by Saint Nino, a young woman who came from Cappadocia with a special mission to convert Georgians to Christianity. Her missionary activity is the basis of her very strong cult (feast day - 14 January.) The story of the conversion is described in the chronicle *The Conversion of Kartly*. Very important from the historical point of view is the fact that the conversion of Georgia was already known and depicted in the works of the Byzantine church historians. These authors include: Gelasius of Caesarea, Theodoros of Cyros, Rufinus, Socrates Scholasticos, Sozomenos. As Rufinus records his source is based on the information of Bacurus, who was a grandson of King Mirean.

The result of St. Nino's missionary activity was that Christianity was proclaimed the state religion of Georgia. According to *The Conversion of Kartly* during St. Nino's missionary activity the King of Kartly was Mirian. *The Conversion of Kartly* and Byzantine sources tell us that he was the contemporary of the Emperor Constantine the Great and the Armenian King Trdat. Although several considerations have been made concerning the time at which Christianity was proclaimed the state religion, modern historiography accepts the date suggested by I. Djavakhishvili - 337. This date is based on the upper limit of the possible dates, which is the year of Constantine the Great's death.

But still the most problematic question is exactly when *The Conversion of Kartly* was written. One group of scholars maintains that the work is contemporary to the event of the conversion of Kartly, others consider the work was written in the ninth century. From this point of view is extremely worthy of note newly found manuscript of *The Conversion of Kartly* in Sinai. Analysis of the sources rise a lot of questions but from my point of view the most enigmatic problem is the structure of *The Conversion of Kartly*. Such an unusual structure is not fixed in its contemporary sources, I mean early female *Vitas*. This rise the question what serves as the sample for this work as there is not traditional hagiographical *topoi*. Unlikeness of the structure of *The Conversion of Kartly* to any other hagiographical work seems to me very important for to define the date when the work was written.

In the last thirty years different disciplines such as anthropology, social psychology or sociology have clearly shown that non-verbal communication is a very important aspect of all cultures, and Byzantium is not an exception. A. Kazhan ("Body Language," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 299-300) has stressed its importance, both in Byzantine private and public life, while recognizing its limitations: the conventional moral code restricted in general the display of emotions—although tears "were always welcome" ("Emotions," *ODB*, p. 691)—and the ideal of good behaviour consisted of imitating as much as possible the immobility, solemnity and quietness of a statue.

This "statuary" ideal, however, is challenged in Byzantine hagiography by the holy fools' enigmatic behaviour. The aim of this paper is to analyze and explain this contrast through the study of St. Andrew's body language, as reflected in the *Vita S. Andree Sali*, which was written by the middle of the tenth century, according to L. Rydén. This study will take into account the non-verbal channels distinguished by M. Argyle in *Bodily Communication* (Oxford, 1988 [2nd. ed.]), i.e., facial expression, gaze, gestures and other bodily movements, posture, bodily contact, spatial behaviour, clothes and other aspects of appearance, non-verbal vocalizations and smell, and will consider the influence of Symeon the Fool on St. Andrew from this point of view.

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THE DATE OF THE *LIFE OF ST.NIPHON* (BHG, 1371z):
NEW EVIDENCE

6433

Some time ago L.Ryden suggested that the vita of St.Niphon (hereafter *VNiph*), whose author pretended to be living in the 4th century, was actually written in the first half of the 11th ("Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of C.Fabricsius". Goteborg, 1990, p.36). We intend to add some evidence in support of Ryden's theory and to date *VNiph* more precisely.

According to *VNiph*, St.Niphon late in his life became the bishop of the city of Konstantiana. Since he was ordained by the pope of Alexandria (ed. Rystenko, p.169), it has been universally believed (by F.Halkin, L.Ryden etc.) that Konstantiana was an Egyptian city, possibly the one mentioned in the Miracles of St.Menas.

In Greek copies of *VNiph* the toponym Konstantiana is accompanied by an obscure attributive τῆς Κυκλίου (p.169.9). Meanwhile, in the Old Slavonic translation of *VNiph* which was made shortly after the original and is in some instances closer to the latter than the surviving Greek copies, this name is rendered as Коупрьскыя (p.364.3-4), i.e. "of Cyprus". It may be suggested that by the time *VNiph* was written it was no longer remembered that the Cypriot Church had once (before it became autonomous in the 5th century) submitted to Antioch, not to Alexandria.

Niphon is not found among numerous Cypriot saints or entered in the list of Cyprus bishops. Nor are there any details in his vita suggesting hagiographer's acquaintance with either Konstantiana or Cyprus in general, for that matter. Moreover, the assertion that Niphon was buried in the church of Holy Apostles (p.185.21-22) seems to indicate that in the primordial version of *VNiph* the saint never left Constantinople. The later provenience of his Cyprus connection is supported by the fact that in some synaxaria Niphon is called "the bishop of Constantia", whereas in some other - simply "the monk" (Сергий. Полный месяцеслов Востока. Владимир, т.II, с.392, 518).

The motif of Niphon's travel to Alexandria may be explained by the hagiographer's desire to "arrange" Niphon's meeting with St.Athanasios, a well-recognized saint-maker. It remains unclear, however, why should Konstantiana have appeared in the vita at all. Maybe, a saint's authority was used to support the status of the city as the metropolitan see of Cyprus. The fact is that the see was moved to Leucosia (by another version - to Arsinoe) soon after Byzantine reconquest of Cyprus. If the inclusion of Konstantiana into *VNiph* was indeed caused by the polemics over the see of Cyprus, then we may establish a *terminus post quem* for the vita - 965.

As for *terminus ante quem*, it can also be shifted: the first menologion in which Niphon is mentioned, is the Old Slavonic one contained in Euangelium Assemani (Сергий. Полный месяцеслов..., т.I, с.117), written between 986 and 1051 (cf. Л.Василев. Нов податак времену настанка Асеманијевог Јеванђеља// Археографски Прилози, 10/11, 1988/1989, с.13-15).

LA «VIE» DE SAINT NIPHON - VALEUR TYPOLOGIQUE
D'UNE SOURCE HAGIOGRAPHIQUE

Commémoré par l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine le 11 août, jour de sa mort au monastère athonite de Dionysiou (en l'an 1508), Niphon II a été patriarche oecuménique (deux ou même trois fois) vers la fin du XV-e siècle, puis métropolite de la Valachie (au commencement du XVI-e siècle).

Le 15 août 1517, le voévode Neagoe Basarab a consacré sa fondation monastique de la Cour d'Arges, mise sous le patronage de l'Assomption de la Vierge. Parmi les personnalités du monde orthodoxe invitées à cette cérémonie se trouvaient le patriarche oecuménique Théolepte I-er, ainsi que le «protos» de la Sainte Montagne, Gabriel. C'est ce dernier qui a rédigé plus tard la «Vie» de Saint Niphon.

En tant que biographie d'un certain type humain attaché à "l'échelle de la perfection" monastique (pour reprendre les mots de Jean Climax), chaque écrit hagiographique veut nous transmettre - au-delà des faits liés à une vie jugée comme exemplaire - le message dûment rempli de symboles de la foi chrétienne. Une règle du cliché était en vigueur pour la rédaction de chaque écrit de ce genre, qui devait s'arrêter sur la vie du personnage avant l'entrée au monastère (un prologue sur l'importance du sujet, des données sur la naissance et l'origine sociale du personnage, son instruction laïque et son penchant vers une "autre" vie, meilleure), sur sa carrière monastique (en commençant avec le "martyrion tēs hypotagēs" jusqu'aux plus hauts degrés de la contemplation), ainsi que sur sa mort (prédite par lui, suivie des miracles opérés par sa dépouille mortelle, de l'odeur de sainteté de celle-ci, et enfin, de la translation du culte de ses reliques).

Rédigée par le «protos» Gabriel, dont la personnalité était donc fortement ancrée dans les traditions les plus authentiques de Byzance assez récemment disparue, la Vie de Saint Niphon témoigne de la présence de tous les éléments sus-mentionnés, qui représentent le canevas de l'exposé hagiographique. On pourrait la considérer "classique" en la matière, vu la présence de tous les éléments qu'on trouve rarement groupés de la sorte.

Die theologische Sprache der "oratio catechetica magna"
Gregors von Nyssa

Für die Untersuchung des Spezifischen einer theologischen Sprache scheint es zweckmäßig, eine eingehende strukturell-semantische Analyse des theologischen Textes durchzuführen. Als ein geeignetes Beispiel dafür wird hier die "oratio catechetica", die erste zusammenfassende Lehrschrift der großkirchlichen Theologie, herangezogen.

Die Analyse stellt die theologische Sprache als eine komplizierte Zusammensetzung von in erster Linie zwei konstituierenden Elementen dar. Dies sind zum einen die religiöse Sprache (nämlich die der Heiligen Schrift und des Gottesdienstes) und zum anderen die Sprache der Philosophie. Die Gewichtung der beiden Elemente hängt von der Entstehungszeit und Absicht des jeweiligen Textes sowie von der individuellen Eigenart des jeweiligen Verfassers ab. Die Unterscheidung der spezifischen Wirkung jedes dieser Elemente ist m.E. nur methodisch gerechtfertigt. Zu berücksichtigen ist dabei auch, daß in einem theologischen Text außer dieser synthetischen Sprachschicht häufig noch eine weitere, mit dem philosophischen Gedankengang verknüpfte Schicht rein philosophischer Termini enthalten ist.

Die strukturell-semantische Analyse der "oratio catechetica" unterteilt den Sprachbestand der Schrift in semantische Mikro- und Makroeinheiten. Zu den Mikroeinheiten bzw. Semantemen gehören: a) theologische und dogmatische Termini, für deren Bestimmung der Kontext entscheidend ist; b) bereits ausgeprägte und noch nicht ausgeprägte dogmatische Formulierungen und c) theologische Tropen. Zu den Makroeinheiten gehören Analogien, inhaltliche Parallelismen und diskursive Aussagen, sofern jede von ihnen in ihrem semantischen Gehalt eine bestimmte Einheit darstellt.

Die rein philosophischen Termini in der "oratio catechetica" fungieren als Korrelate theologischer Semanteme (Termini, Wortgruppen). Was die in den Sprachbestand der Theologie eingegangenen diskursiven Aussagen betrifft, so werden diese von dem zum philosophischen Denken geneigten Verfasser systematisch benutzt, doch überwiegt in der Schrift das religiöse Sprachbewußtsein, das in der Form metaphorischer Beschreibungen oder Analogien ein wirkungsvolleres Mittel zur Annäherung an das Geheimnis Gottes sieht.

Die Untersuchung stützt sich auf den Gedanken, daß es für die Bewertung der theologischen Schrift notwendig ist, ihre immanenten Sprachnormen als ein Spezifikum anzuerkennen. Die Abgrenzung der Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten der theologischen Sprache von der theologischen Konzeption richtet sich darauf, sie als zwei relativ unabhängige Aspekte des Textes anzusehen und dementsprechend auch verschiedene Maßstäbe daran anzulegen.

ANNA PANAYOTOU-TRANTAPHYLLOPOULOU

7112

**ÉVOLUTION DU GREC EN PÉRIODE MÉDIÉVALE :
LE CAS DE MACÉDOINE ET DE CHYPRE**

A partir d'un phénomène pas suffisamment, à notre avis, expliqué, à savoir les présents au "γ irraisonné" en -αύγω/-εύγω (et variantes locales), issus respectivement d'-αύω/-εύω, on essaie de mieux cerner certains problèmes concernant la formation et l'évolution des dialectes néo-grecs.

Ce phénomène est bien connu dans la plupart des dialectes néo-grecs ; ici pourtant on trace son évolution à partir de textes épigraphiques et littéraires de deux régions géographiquement éloignées l'une de l'autre, Macédoine et Chypre, pour montrer à l'aide d'exemples cohérents le rôle du "substrat" (des dialectes anciens respectifs et de la Koiné) à la création de formes dialectales, dont on voit les prémices déjà à partir de l'époque byzantine.

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A METAPHRASTIC PROJECT OF THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY?

At the 1983 congress on palaeography and codicology held in Berlin and Wolfenbüttel, G. Prato discussed ms. Parisinus Coislin 311, thought to date from the 12th century. Prato produced strong evidence in support of the view that the manuscript should in fact be dated to approximately 1300, relating its script to dated manuscripts of the late 13th/early 14th centuries, whose style was deceptively conservative, or, rather, deliberately archaising. I would like to suggest in this paper that this new dating for ms. Parisinus Coislin 311, beyond its purely palaeographical aspect, may hold a number of interesting implications with regard to literary and, specifically, metaphrastic production in Byzantium in the early years of the 14th century.

Ms. Parisinus Coislin 311, which contains the text of the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnene, is closely related, as Professor Hunger has demonstrated, to the text of the Anonymous Metaphrase of the *Alexiad*. The Metaphrase, as explained by Hunger in his edition of the text, survives only in a manuscript of the 17th century, known, however, to have been copied from an older Byzantine manuscript then held in the Vatican library. Since it was copied in the 17th century, however, the exemplar of the Metaphrase disappeared. We are therefore left with only a single later witness to this text. If we make the not wholly unreasonable assumption that the lost Byzantine manuscript of the Metaphrase was close in date to ms. Parisinus Coislin 311, then we are faced with a number of enticing chronological coincidences with regard to metaphrases, or paraphrases, of high-style Byzantine historical literature: the 'Barbarograeca' version of Niketas Choniates' *Chronike Diegesis*, possibly George Pachymeres' *History*, and now the *Alexiad* all seem to originate from the first half of the 14th century. If one also takes into account the fact that in this same period appear other kinds of metaphrase, such as the *Basilikos Andrias* of Blemmydes, translated by George Oinaïotes and George Galesiotes into an idiom, as the title declares, 'saphesteron', then we should perhaps be considering the likelihood that all this metaphrastic activity represents a more or less conscious and concerted effort to translate Byzantine historiography covering the years 1081 ~ to the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos.

It is worth considering the wider cultural implications of such a metaphrastic phenomenon. If we confine ourselves to the area of education, the translation of such Byzantine historical works into a simpler idiom suggests that we may be dealing with a broadening of lower education, and a demand among a wider readership for access to this kind of historical text. Looked at from this angle therefore, these paraphrases are an indication of a kind of 'democratization' of high Byzantine culture.

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(St. Petersburg)

Greek Manuscript No 1186 of the Monastery of St. Catherine and the Old Russian Version of "Christian Topography" by Cosmas Indicopleustes.

Many problems of Russian-Byzantine cultural connections are waiting for their concrete investigation. Among them are the problems of translation of the so called scientific-natural works. As an example one can refer to the Old Russian version of "Christian Topography" by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Byzantine traveler and merchant who lived in the sixth century AD. About 100 full copies and fragments dated from XV to XIX century are known in the Old Russian tradition. The majority of these copies were illustrated luxuriously, yet the Greek original had even more miniatures. The ideal way to solve the problems of the history of the Cosmas Indicopleustes' translations into Old Russian is to analyze all the manuscripts in textological way while comparing these manuscripts to their original.

Nevertheless, the exploration of the specific problems of this written monument, such as its existence within the Old Russian literary tradition, the textological connections of the full text and its fragments with the manuscript of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (manuscript No 1186) has its scholarly value as well.

F. I. Buslaev and N. P. Kondakov have already written about the iconographical connections between the Greek manuscript by Cosmas Indicopleustes and the Old Russian versions of this work. There is another aspect of this problem, however, namely, there are numerous remarks, both in Greek and Slavonic, on the pages of this manuscript. It is these Slavonic remarks which are very important for our investigation.

The great Chanter King called blessed such people, who knew the chant of God. The confusion, by God, of the languages of the tower of Babel builders might not have been meant as a scourge, but rather as an act similar to the turn of our Galaxy by God unto His Ways (unto Θεοδρόμος), or an act similar to the creation of angels that have fiery tongues.

Ancient Georgian translations of Byzantine literary monuments are truly worthy of being known in the history of Greek civilization. Over the centuries the Georgian language was disregarded and looked down upon as a step-daughter in fairy-tales, though its mastery of tailoring the words («rhapsody») was equal to that of the purple-born languages. We try to define what value the Georgian equivalents have for research into the inner depths of the Byzantine-Greek word (viz. we analyze images proceeding from Georgian material: ‘eveningless’, ‘unapproachable by shadow’; ‘heart’s sonority’ i.e. understanding, etc.).

The inexactitudes in the ancient translations of the Holy Scripture should rather be regarded only as wonderfully fortunate errors. An exceedingly curious case where the translator, probably deliberately, fails to render the original meaning of the word ‘thought’, in his translation to the full, serves as an example that illustrates a Christian interpretation of ‘THOUGHT’ as a sacred dialogue.

Presented to the reader are examples of unsurpassed contest or dispute of old translators with Byzantine hymnographers. Outstanding sons of the Georgian nation continued Master Chanter’s cause, and their προσόμοια are, indeed, multiplication of talent and mysterious transcendence of the Christian soul. Old Christian translators exercised a more refined and meticulous approach to the realm of the original text (literally in Georgian - dedani, or ‘mother-text’). The art of translation is a vehicle that brings us closer to God.

The very content of the notion ‘logos’ is in its ‘correspondence, or fitting, or suitability’. Therefore, as we ascend to the topmost rung of the ladder of sacred knowledge where the word reveals all its diverse meanings, we can indeed leave the remains of our vanity with God and obtain absolution, as one of the psalms says ‘Leave your troubles with the Lord’ (55, 22).

THE PLACE OF OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS IN THE STUDY OF
MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S HERITAGE

A lot of works of Maximus had been translated into Georgian in 10-12th centuries in different literary schools and are preserved in ancient Georgian manuscripts.

The old Georgian translations of Maximus' works rise a number of problems concerning the different literary schools in Georgia of 10-12th centuries, reconstruction of Greek originals, composition of collections and are quite important for the study of the history of Georgian and also Byzantine church literature, as well as for determination of their relationships.

Evtheme Athoneli, Georgian translator of 10-11th centuries was the first, who translated into Georgian Maximus' works. Most of these translations differ significantly from the known Greek originals - a number of fragments are missing in Georgian versions and the whole passages from other texts (of Maximus and other authors) are inserted.

In some cases different redactions of the texts, preserved in Evtheme's translations, proceed from the Greek sources. This fact is proved by the revealing of exact Greek original for one of Euyheme's translations, that was considered to be heavily interpolated by him. So, we must not exclude that in case of Maximus, in some of Eutheme's translations could be preserved lost Greek versions of the texts.

The importance of Evtheme's translations for the study of Maximus' heritage is proved by the fact, that Maximus' earliest work, *Life of the Virgin*, is preserved only in Eutheme's translation. The Greek original of this work is lost.

After Evtheme Maximus' works had been translated into Georgian in 12th century in Gelaty Literary School, by completely different method of translation, very precisely.

According to this method was translated into Georgian Corpus of Maximus' works, including *Questationes ad Thallassium*; *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*; *Epistolae* and *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica*. This Georgian Corpus is preserved in unique Georgian manuscript of 12th century Gelati 14. The comparison with Greek original revealed, that these translations are following precisely Greek manuscript of 12th century Coislianus 90, which proceeds from Great Laura of Mount Athos. The composition of Georgian Corpus is also following the composition of Coislianus 90. So, we can suppose, that the original of this Georgian manuscript was Coislianus 90. This view is supported by the fact, that the Greek manuscript has Georgian superscriptions. So, Georgian manuscript can help to reconstruct this Greek manuscript, which is quite damaged.

We may conclude, that though the study of the Georgian translations of Maximus' works is only beginning, a lot of important problems have been arisen; some of them had been already solved, and we hope that the further investigation will bring the answers to the rest of them.

OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR'S
"DISPUTE WITH PYRRHUS"

The subject of our discussion is old Georgian translations of Maximus the Confessor's "Dispute with Pyrrhus". This work had been translated twice - at first in 11th century by famous Georgian translator, founder of Athoni literary school, Evtheme Athoneli and for second time in 12-th century, in Gelati literary school. These two translations are performed by completely different method of translation.

The study of Evtheme's translation reveals, that it differs significantly from the known Greek originals. It is much shorter, a number of fragments of the text are missing in translation and translated parts of the text are also changed. The work is purposefully simplified and adjusted to the needs of reader, who is not well trained in philosophy and theology. Some difficult passages are excluded from the text, others are explained and commented.

Though it must not be excluded, that in Evtheme's translation is preserved some Greek redaction of the text, which is lost for today, considering the peculiarities of this version and characteristics of Evtheme's method of translation, who often was purposefully changing the works of Greek authors, we suppose that Evtheme himself was the author of this version.

Second translation of "Dispute with Pyrrhus", done in Gelati literary school, is performed by completely different method of translation. In the Gelati literary school had been developed special, scientifically substantiated translational theory, aimed at most precise translation, that means not only to follow the Greek original word by word, but also to transmit into Georgian Greek syntactical and morphological constructions. According to this method is translated "Dispute with Pyrrhus" that determines characteristics of this translation. Translator tries to be very precise, to transmit into translation not only the sense but also stylistic peculiarities of the text. Great importance is attached to exact translation of Greek terms. This translation, performed on very high level by well-educated Georgian translator, presents interesting materials for the interpretation of Maximus' work itself.

We may conclude: The fact that this text was translated twice in different epochs and according to different principles, indicates on big importance that was attached to this work of Maximus in Georgia. Each translation presents certain stage of development of Georgian theory of translation and Georgian-Byzantine literary relationships, and indicates on the interests and demands of Georgian readers and requirements of the epochs.

Р е з ю м е

В настоящей статье впервые в Советской литературе представлены сведения о научном труде, который приписывается Иеротеосу, ученику псевдо-Дιονисия Ареопагита. С пятого века этот теологический трактат называют "Книгой Иеротеоса", дошла она в трех рукописях. Эти сирийские рукописи в начале двадцатого века опубликовал Ф.Марш с английским переводом. Автор статьи ознакомилась с английским переводом "Книги" и комментариями писателей УП, УШ, IX, XIII, XIX, XX веков о "Книге Иеротеоса". Этот теологический трактат считается самым интересным и популярным из сирийской мистической литературы.

Хотя трактат и носит название "Книга Иеротеоса", однако в тексте нет сведений об авторе. Автор "Книги" обращается к своему ученику, не называя по имени ни себя, ни ученика. Английские ученые тщательно изучили материалы об этой книге и пришли к выводу, что нет фактов, опровергающих авторство Иеротеоса. Единственный человек, который носил имя Иеротеос был наставник псевдо-Дιονисия Ареопагита, о котором ученые знают по трактатам последнего. Многие сомневаются в реальности человека - Иеротеоса и считают его плодом фантазии псевдо-Ареопагита. Автор настоящей статьи сообщает, что в начале двадцатого века грузинский ученый А.Натроев видел в Иверском монастыре на Афоне святые части, т.е. кости "Иерофея Иверского", о чем пишет в книге "Иверский монастырь на Афоне". Автор статьи обращает внимание на то, что на Афоне вплоть до нашего века Иерофея считали живым человеком, а не плодом фантазии, притом "грузином", "Иверским". Этот факт пока не учитывается в Советской ареопагитике, как и тот факт, что существует сирийская рукопись гимна Иеротеоса, изрядную часть которого напечатал В.Райт в своем Каталоге сирийских рукописей.

К вопросу о структуре армянского филоновского корпуса

7136

Из 38 дошедших до нас произведений Филона Александрийского на армянский язык полностью или фрагментарно переведены 9 или 10 (если *De Deo* - не псевдэпиграф) сочинений. К ним традиционно примыкают и два несомненных псевдэпиграфа. Такой состав корпуса засвидетельствован всей рукописной и комментаторской традицией. Кроме того, по сообщениям средневековых комментаторов, корпус имел определенную композицию: он состоял из семи блоков, последовательность которых (и последовательность произведений внутри которых) была жестко фиксирована (приводим наименование и состав каждого блока):

1. “О Провидении”: *De providentia + De animalibus*.
2. “Бытие”: *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin I-III*.
3. “О жизни патриархов или мудрецов (или О жизни созерцательной)”: *De Abrahamo*.
4. “Аллегории”: *Legum allegoriae I-II*.
5. “Явился”: *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin IV*.
6. “Разное из Исхода”: *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum*;
Spec. leg. I, 79-161, 285-345; Spec. leg. III, 1-7 + Decal. +
Spec. leg. III, 8-63; *De Sampsonе; De Iona; De Deo*.
7. “О жизни созерцательной”: *De vita contemplativa*.

Можно предположить, что корпус не является конгломератом случайных текстов, но составлен на основании нескольких принципов (компендиальность, авторитетность произведения в христианской традиции, возможность христианской транскрипции тех или иных ветхозаветных символов).

Helena Bodin, Stockholm university

Byzantinism and Modernism. Some notes on the Swedish Poet
Hjalmar Gullberg's Translation of Romanos the Melode's
Kontakion on the Nativity

My aim is to show how Romanos the Melode's Byzantine kontakion on the Nativity, dating from the early 6th century, through the translation of the poet Hjalmar Gullberg (1941) and the music of Hilding Rosenberg (op. 92) becomes a part of modern culture. The congenial way in which the modern poet handles the specific style of Romanos' - his mixed language, rhetoric devices, extensive use of dialogue and characteristic imagery - is fascinating, especially since this style otherwise often has been regarded as problematic and non-literary.

In the political and social context of the second world war, this Byzantine hymn actualizes the mystery of the incarnation, the poor conditions of Mary and her child, and humanity's need for salvation and rescue. In the literary context of Gullberg's own poetry, the hymn also keeps an important position, as Gullberg by this translation in some way redoubles or repeats one of his own most famous and beloved poems, "The Holy Night".

It seems possible to state an affinity between the modernist aesthetics of this 20th century poet and the Byzantine, Orthodox Christian poetics of his earlier colleague Romanos the Melode. Due to this, a further, thoroughgoing study of the relations between modernist and Byzantine aesthetics would be most urgent.

Translating an Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds: Words Amusing and Intriguing.

*By George Baloglou, Oswego, USA and Nick Nicholas, Parkville, Australia -
with the collaboration of Tassos Karanastasis, Thessaloniki, Greece.*

In our recently completed translation of this 14th century secular poem of 1,100 lines we have had the pleasant task of navigating through a vibrant language that is Attic in intent and Modern Greek in spirit; its sometimes obscure syntax, together with a number of compound words unique to the poem, presented us with the challenge of rendering it in a form acceptable to the contemporary English-reading lay reader. Our guiding principle while translating the Tale--often at the expense of word-for-word rendering--was that whatever had been entertaining six centuries ago should be made to retain its humorous qualities today, and in a way appealing to both Byzantinists and the general public.

We also argue that the poem can offer to the contemporary reader more than a quick laugh and an intimate look at 14th century daily life. Indeed, behind the Quadrupeds' coarse dialogues and self-exalting monologues, one can observe the poet looking decline and death in the eye, at times pessimistic and at times, more remarkably, optimistic.

Further, besides the obvious political message encoded in the "hard working" herbivores' victory over the "parasitic" carnivores (after a never ending conference and a hastily described battle), this lively, most sarcastic poem sends a singularly subversive message: not through any direct criticism of the upper classes, but by constantly and skillfully overturning whatever has just been established! Finally, the poem's timelessness and universality are strengthened by the fact that, although influenced by such previous works, it is, for example, less "historical" than the "Book of Birds" ("Poulologos") and far less "theological" than the "Physiologus".

The original text is available in Vassiliki Tsiouni's critical edition (based on all five manuscripts) "Paidiofrastos Diegesis ton Zoon ton Tetrapodon", Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität München, 1972. In 1956 V. S. Shandrovskaja's Russian translation appeared in Vizantijskaja basnja "Rasskaz o Cetveronogih" (XIV v.), Vizantijskij Vremennik, IX (Moscow), pp. 211-249.

More Than Meets the Eye: Julian the Apostate's *Symposion*

This paper will address Julian the Apostate's as a literary person. While Julian's hymns and the *Misopogon* have received some attention, mainly because they can be linked to the political, reactionary figure, Julian, the *Symposion* did not fare as well. Hall called this literary creation "a laboured piece, inspired, as it seems, by the Apocolocyntosis and by various of Lucian's Menippean works (*Lucian's Satire* (1981) 127)." The parade of Roman emperors, the short summaries of their exploits, their orations in front of the assembled gods, and finally the competition centered on the means and ends of each one's actions, reveal interesting facts about Julian's understanding of and attitude toward his predecessors.

In the case of Vespasian, for example, the author makes a connection with Sarapis and Egypt. We all know that Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria and that Sarapis was one of the city's most important deities. We tend to forget though, and Julian certainly did not, that Vespasian also bound Sarapis to the *domus Augusta* and thus introduced a new building block into the system of imperial worship. One can but suppress a chuckle when, upon Heracles' begging, Alexander is allowed to join the feast and not one emperor is willing to give up his seat for the hero. Julian's characters do not remember their Alexander *imitatio*; the whole matter is reduced to a game of musical chairs. The vehicle for Julian's sketches of political and ideological insights is the Menippean Satire, in this case one of mitigated economy. In light of genre, content, and expression, it is high time for a reassessment of Julian the Apostate's *Symposion*.

ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI MICENEI ED EGEO-ANATOLICI
CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE - ROMA

Saffo e Bisanzio

Storia della tradizione del testo di Saffo a Bisanzio, dall' VIII al IX secolo, con il riesame delle citazioni, da Coricio ad Anna Comnena, Michele Italico, Gregorio Corinzio, Eustazio di Tessalonica, Niceta Coniata.

Le citazioni di Saffo negli autori del XII secolo vanno considerate, in alcuni casi, un repêchage dalle opere dei grammatici e dei retori antichi o, in altri, ancorate all'enciclopedia del X secolo.

Manca di citazioni e testimonianze dal VII al X secolo.

L'XI secolo e la testimonianza di Michele Psello.

La testimonianza di Isacco Tzetze, nel XII secolo, sulla scomparsa definitiva dell'opera di Saffo a Bisanzio.

Si parte dal presupposto, documentabile, che la tradizione diretta dell'opera di Saffo possa aver superato la soglia del III-IV secolo solo in copie 'amatoriali', in possesso di intellettuali, quali, per esempio, il retore Imerio o l'imperatore Giuliano, o di selezione, per esempio le pergamene di Berlino del VII secolo.

Parallelamente, è ipotizzabile anche una raccolta di excerpta ad uso retorico, per le citazioni poetiche nella composizione degli epitalami oratori (Sopatro in Phot. Bibl. 161, 103a, 19 ss. Bekker; cf. Men. Rhet. 402, 15-18 Russell-Wilson).

L'opera di Saffo come materia d'insegnamento? La testimonianza di Temistio (Or. 20, 236e Downey).

I frr. 55 e 121 V. nel Florilegio di Stobeo.

ARCO MAGRI' MELINA

7213

LA μίμησις :antico e bizantino

Dal confronto tra le definizioni antiche di μίμησις e
Σήλωσις si deduce che i due concetti, seppure distinti in
linea di principio, nella prassi compositiva, si integrano a vi-
cenda.

A voler approfondire - per meglio stabilire raffronti tra
l'antico e il bizantino - focalizzeremo alcune fra le più signi-
ficative tematiche della 'prima letteratura greca' che, conside-
rate al vaglio della critica dell'autore del Περὶ Ὑψους, ritor-
nano - e a volte riplasmate - particolarmente nel classicismo
dell'età dei Paleologi.

Formen byzantinischer Autobiographie

7214

Nach den Autobiographien des 4. Jh.s lassen sich wieder ab dem 10. Jh. byzantinische Texte feststellen, in denen der Autor/die Autorin einen umfassenden Lebensrückblick unternimmt. Diese Texte erscheinen durch die Grundvoraussetzung der rückblickenden Selbstdarstellung in den Augen des modernen Betrachters als Autobiographien. Darüber hinaus sind sie durch verschiedene formale und inhaltliche Merkmale miteinander verbunden. Die Autoren selbst bezeichnen die Selbstdarstellung meist als τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, sprechen bezüglich ihres Werkes von "Erzählung" und legen eine gewisse Scheu, über sich selbst zu sprechen, an den Tag, die sie nur durch bestimmte Rechtfertigungsgründe zu überwinden vermögen. Dem Vorwurf der περιавтоλογία können sie sich entziehen, indem sie ihr Leben als eine Aneinanderreihung wunderbarer göttlicher Gnadenakte darstellen oder als Vorbild für ein tugendhaftes Leben in Gott, dem andere nacheifern sollen. Die Selbstdarstellung kann nie Selbstzweck sein. Die Autobiographien treten nicht selbständig auf. Sie sind als Teile eines größeren Textes zu sehen, dessen Anliegen sie unterstützen. In Zusammenhang mit dem übergeordneten Text können die byz. Autobiographien des 10.-15. Jh.s fünf Selbstdarstellungsmustern zugeordnet werden. Als Einleitung zu den gesammelten Werken eines Autors machen sie den Leser mit dem Bildungsgang bzw. literarischen Grundsätzen des Verfassers bekannt (Schriftstellerautobiographie). In Apologien unterstreichen sie den untadeligen Lebenswandel des Beschuldigten. In historiographischen Werken überwiegt der autobiographische Charakter, wenn der Verfasser selbst an vorderster Front am beschriebenen Geschehen beteiligt war. Eine besondere Stellung nehmen im behandelten Zeitraum Autobiographien in Verbindung mit Kloster-typika und Testamenten ein. Verwoben mit diesen beiden außerliterarischen Textsorten finden sich die häufigsten Formen der byz. Selbstdarstellung. Man kann hier zwischen Laien- und Mönchs-autobiographie unterscheiden. Zur ersten Gruppe gehört neben abgeschlossenen Selbstdarstellungen eine Reihe von fragmentarischen Autobiographien, die sich aus verstreuten Erwähnungen des Autors über sich selbst entstehen. Das Vorbild hagiographischer Texte ist für die mönchische Autobiographie besonders deutlich greifbar. Diese umfangreichste Gruppe weist im Vergleich mit den anderen einen schematischeren Aufbau auf. Die Stationen des Mönchslebens folgen weitgehend einem vorgegebenen Muster. Stellt man diese Texte hagiographischen Werken gegenüber, erweisen sie sich als nüchterner und trotz der angestrebten Vorbildwirkung als weniger idealisierend. Die Autobiographie wurde von den Byzantinern nicht als literarische Gattung begriffen. Dennoch kann man aufgrund des Bewußtseins der Autoren von einer bestimmten narrativen Form, die sich inhaltlich definierte und leicht in den Geruch des maßlosen Selbstlobes kam, trotz der Zugehörigkeit zu unterschiedlichen anerkannten literarischen Gattungen bzw. Gebrauchstexten und trotz der damit verbundenen Bandbreite an Stilen und Sprachniveaus von der byz. Autobiographie als einer über den Gattungen stehenden Form des literarischen Erzählens sprechen.

Krivov Mikhail

7221

"The Image Of "Byzantium-Ethiopia" In 16-Th Century's Literature".

In 1582 Jesuit Antonio Possevino Conversing With Russian Czar Ivan Awful About Faith Noted That "Roman And Greek Faith Are The Same". To This Czar Objected " We Have A Genuine Faith, Christian And Not Greek One. Greek Faith Has The Reputation Because Prophet David Already Prophesied That From Ethiopia A Hand Shall Forestall It To God. And Ethiopia Is Alike Byzantium. And Byzantium Shined Forth In Christianity Therefore Greek Faith Has The Reputation Also".

Russian Scientist N.Kostomarov Decided That Czar Ivan Identified Byzantium With Ethiopia Because He Wrongly Interpreted Words Of Psalm 67:32 About Ethiopia Which "Forestalls Its Hands To God", Referred To Byzantium. Although Such An Identification Was Already Present In Byzantium Monument Of Vii Century Of Apocalypse Of Pseudo-Methodius Of Patara. It Contents The Legend About Mother Of Alexander The Great Of Macedon Whose Name Was Cusheth, The Daughter Of King Pil. Three Of Her Grandsons Became Kings Of Rome, Byzantium And Alexandria. Setting Forth This Legend, Pseudo-Methodius Was Proving The Theory Of Close Relationship Of Macedonian, Ethiopian, Greeks And Romanian. Following This Theory, He Identified Ethiopia With Byzantium And Referred The Above Prophecy Of Psalm 67:32 To The Latter.

In Following Centuries Apocalypse Of Pseudo-Methodious Was Being Repeatedly Processed And Interpreted Into Latin, Slavianijan And Other Languages. By Its Kind This Literary Monument Is Close To Folk Literature, But Its Ideas And Images Penetrated Into The Environment Of Highly Educated Representatives Of Supreme Classes, Exerting The Influence On The Forming Of Their Outlook. Joan Awful Acquired The Image Of "Byzantium-Ethiopia" Either Directly From Pseudo-Methodius Or By Means Of Some Unknown To Us Writing. It Is Remarkable, That This Image Remained Alive More Than 100 Years Since Collapse Of Byzantine Empire.

Les historiens ecclésiastiques du V^es. partagent la notion eusébiennne du bon peuple chrétien (communauté religieuse détentrice des dogmes apostoliques et des mœurs chrétiennes). Mais ils répondent différemment à la question comment doivent être les actions de ce peuple pour le nommer "bon". Théodoret continue Eusèbe qui voit sa vertu principale dans son comportement passif orienté uniquement vers l'observance des rites. Socrate en offre deux images: le peuple chrétien passif, victime des menées hérétiques et des discordes épiscopales, et le peuple chrétien actif qui lutte énergiquement contre les ennemis de l'ordre ecclésiastique. Il ôte aux ouailles toute responsabilité pour les conflits incessants au sein de l'Eglise, bien qu'il le critique parfois pour ses actes trop agressifs. Chez Sozomène l'idée du peuple chrétien agissant devient dominante. C'est dans ses interventions ouvertes et même suivies de violence qu'il voit son "bon" côté.

Les avis des historiens divergent aussi sur le rôle historique du peuple chrétien. Pour Socrate le but de l'histoire est l'ordre idéal où les principes de vie chrétiens s'imposent à toute la société et où l'empereur, les évêques et le peuple connaissent l'harmonie des pensées et des actions. Dans l'hiérarchie idéale les ouailles sont aussi nécessaires que leurs pâtres. Mais concevant l'histoire de l'Eglise comme une reproduction ininterrompue du désordre Socrate vient à la minimisation du rôle du peuple chrétien dans les événements historiques. Sozomène représente le peuple comme une force réelle, comme un élément important de l'Eglise orthodoxe qui détermine la marche progressive de l'histoire vers le triomphe définitif du christianisme. Pourtant pour lui, à la différence de Socrate, ce peuple n'est qu'une catégorie historique: à l'état idéal (arrêt de l'histoire) tous les membres de l'Eglise ne feront qu'un et leur existence autonome prendra fin. Voilà pourquoi le peuple est exclu du récit sur les temps bienheureux de Théodose II. Théodoret n'admet pas la position de Sozomène. Malgré son optimisme à propos de la lutte des orthodoxes contre leurs adversaires il prête un rôle tout minime au peuple chrétien dans les campagnes victorieuses de l'Eglise: son peuple est trop passif pour intervenir dans l'histoire.

Cette diversité de vues est de nature historique et idéologique.

Procopius of Caesaria in the Context of History and Historiography

In modern historiography Procopius of Caesarea is considered to be a conservative aristocrat and a mediocre historian, "more observer, than analyst". This paper offers alternative interpretation, beginning with the milieu of Procopius and his historical writings.

First. As far as we can judge from prosopographical data, there was not a conservative, that is old, aristocracy as a special stratum in Byzantium. So, just because of that Procopius could not belong to it. Analysis of the terminology that the historian uses for designating the nobility shows that the most important thing for him was not the origin as such, but the position of a person in the imperial administration. The closer to the emperor the man was, the nobler he was in Procopius' eyes. The examples he uses in his *Secret History* to blame the politics of Justinian towards the senatorial aristocracy have nothing to do with the old nobility. All the persons named in the *Secret History* who, according to Procopius were robbed by Justinian and Theodora, belonged to the new, administrative, aristocracy, not to the old one. By his position Procopius was close to this administrative nobility, being not a member of this upper class, but a representative of professional intellectuals who were in the service of it.

Second. Procopius is blamed for not having created a general picture of Justinian's époque. Namely he is reproached with neglecting the church history and theology in general. Indeed, he was not interested in these subjects. But why had he to? He wrote a secular history and did it artistically. He appeared to be perhaps more a historian writer (not a reporter!) than just a historian. As a witness of the most events he told about, as a secretary of general Belisarius he knew much more details than he mentioned in his narration. Surely he did it deliberately. Like a great artist he put away small things to stress his main ideas. In this way he was able to create historical work clear, impressive and picturesque.

As to his *Secret History* it is evidently more a pamphlet than a historical writing. It should be noted, however, that even here Procopius simply exaggerated the facts. He did not distort them, being in his criticism in pretty accordance with the novels of Justinian himself to say nothing of other sources.

If Procopius did not succeed in creating a general picture of Justinian's reign (and none of the authors of that time taken apart did) he contributed a lot to our understanding of the époque and of the tastes of Procopius' milieu. Indeed the époque was unique, the people were different. Their approaches to the époque they lived in were different as well. So, once again we should admit that *varia sunt hominum iudicia*.

PLOT IN BYZANTINE CHRONOGRAPHY

It has become a common opinion among scholars that Byzantine chroniclers did not concern themselves with the coherence of the narrative and their exclusive aim was to build a chronological construction consisting of events following one another.

Correct as it is, this assertion has some restrictions. Coherent narratives or even plots do play a significant role in Byzantine chronography. All the narratives in chronicles can be divided into two types: (1) novels of different origin "inserted" into the body of chronicles (2) and historical material itself organized as a sort of narrative or plot. Some Byzantine chroniclers seem to manifest two opposite tendencies: the intention to build their works chronologically and to narrate.

The technique of the narration in chronicles was constantly developing. While in the 6th - 9th centuries the first type of narrative seems to be more common, in the 11th-12th the second type prevails. Some episodes in the chronicles of the latter period became what can be called a sort of novel. Some narratives by Michael Psellos in *Historia Syntomos* can be likened even to the Renaissance novels.

The use of Theodore Lector in the Chronicle of Theophanes

Theophanes' chronicle covers the period 284-813. Most interest in the chronicle concerns his treatment of the seventh and eighth centuries for much of which he is our main and often our sole source. From studies of the period down to the end of the sixth century, for which we have many of his sources, it is generally agreed that Theophanes copied his sources more or less verbatim. It is this that gives us confidence in using his later material. I have previously tried to test this assumption in papers comparing Malalas' and Theophanes' treatment of Constantine and Justinian respectively. For much of the fourth and fifth centuries Theophanes' main source was Theodore Lector. Although Theodore Lector's work only survives in fragments, the fact that we have Theodore's sources for his *Historia Tripartita* (Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret), does allow us to examine Theophanes' handling of the source. What I want to show in this paper is that Theophanes does interfere with his sources and is prepared to adapt them to make sure that his readers interpreted the events 'correctly', even while retaining precisely the wording of his source. He does this largely by the addition of loaded epithets (e.g. 'impious' and 'unholy' used of Valens) and judgmental comments (e.g. 'the emperor who ruled badly' used twice of Anastasios), while still retaining the precise wording of his source. Thus Theophanes' information usually reflects his source reliably whereas interpretations are likely to be his own and may differ quite considerably from those in his source.

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L'image d'Alexandre le Conquérant chez les chroniqueurs byzantins

Le chapitre que les chroniqueurs byzantins consacrent à Alexandre est généralement composé d'éléments hétérogènes, amalgamés les uns aux autres : données historiques, emprunts au *Roman d'Alexandre*, d'où proviennent notamment la figure du mage égyptien Nectanébo et celle de la reine Candace, développements inspirés par la tradition judéo-chrétienne (prophéties de Daniel, textes de Flavius Josèphe sur les démêlés du Conquérant avec les habitants de Jérusalem, commentaires). Le dosage des ingrédients est certes variable selon les auteurs : les notices de Malalas, de la *Chronique Paschale* ou de Michel Glycas sont marquées par un goût très prononcé pour l'affabulation, tandis que le récit d'un Zonaras, basé pour l'essentiel sur la *Vie* de Plutarque, possède un caractère beaucoup plus historique. Un trait est pourtant commun à l'ensemble des chroniques : la tendance hagiographique, qui se révèle tout particulièrement dans l'élimination (ou l'édulcoration) des épisodes sombres de la carrière d'Alexandre (affaire de Philotas et meurtre de Clitus, bacchanale de Carmanie) et dans la réinterprétation positive d'un matériau parfois initialement défavorable au Conquérant (exploitation, à la gloire d'Alexandre, des prophéties antimacédoniennes de Daniel). Ce consensus des chroniqueurs répond à une volonté d'appropriation : il s'agit de faire entrer Alexandre au nombre des grands ancêtres de l'empire byzantin, en présentant le père de la monarchie universelle comme un instrument de la volonté divine et en expurgant son histoire de toutes les ombres qui pourraient le rendre suspect.

A satisfactory biography of Michael Psellos should fully make use of the rich material offered by the collection of his more than 500 letters. This may seem an obvious way of approach, but up till now most scholars have kept their distance from Psellos's correspondence, probably because its language is often difficult, obscure, allusive and its content seems rather shallow and unpromising. However, if one is prepared to spend a good deal of energy and time in decoding Psellos's rhetoric, getting at the factual message of the text and determining the connections between the letters, the reader will be rewarded by many surprising discoveries. He gets to know much, if not all, about the way in which relations between Psellos and his correspondents developed. Real friends became mortal enemies; many friendships continued to exist to the end, but suffered under the strain of political circumstances. Some letters make it possible to establish the several stages of Psellos's career in the bureaucracy; other ones show him reacting to the political and military upheavals before and after Mantzikert. We may even understand why the deposition of Romanos IV Diogenes was necessary for Psellos's personal survival. Lastly we make the acquaintance of Psellos's family: his indigent and unsatisfactory brother, his beautiful wife, his adopted daughter, his son-in-law (who proves to be a historical personality known from other sources) and we learn about the circumstances which caused their final estrangement.

It is only by painstaking, laborious and time-absorbing analysis of Psellos's correspondence, in combination with the material to be found in his other works, that we can hope to build up a more detailed and colourful portrait, an *ἐμψυχὸς εἰκὼν* of this complex personality.

ANNA COMNENA AS POLITICAL HISTORIAN

According to some recent scholars, Byzantine historiography marks a turn towards the individual and panegyric compared to its predecessor in Antiquity. Whereas this may well be true, an observer familiar with contemporary Western historiography is more likely to be struck by the prominent role of the state and the emphasis on political analysis in Byzantine historiography. Anna Comnena's Alexiad is a case in point. Clearly, Alexios is the hero of Anna's story, and her description of him is panegyric. Nevertheless, in portraying him as the saviour of the Empire, she also gives a detailed and intelligent report of the political and military problems facing its leader during this troubled period. In her account of these problems, there is a certain tension between the imperial ideology and the description of politics as the struggle between factions based on personal attachment. This latter aspect is particularly prominent in the account of Alexios's coup d'état in 1081, which will form the main theme of my paper.

Despite the objections that may be raised against her attempt to excuse Alexios's behaviour, Anna presents a brilliant story, showing in detail how Alexios and his brother succeeded. The individual dramatic episodes in Anna's account gain their real meaning by being links in a chain of events leading to Alexios's installment on the imperial throne. The importance of psychology is particularly interesting: It is necessary to observe people closely in order to divine their secret thoughts, while not giving oneself away. Anna devotes a long passage to Alexios's ability in this respect, using it to explain concrete cases of people joining him. Further, she stresses the importance of generosity, the quality in a leader that corresponds to a rational choice view of political allegiance and leadership: People follow the leader who will give them most in return. Anna shows convincingly that this "law" applies in Byzantine society. She implies that Alexios scores on this points as well and thus gives a convincing explanation of his success.

However, the Empire and its problems are curiously absent from her account of the coup, but is introduced later on. Is this simply a division of the subject-matter or is it significant for Anna's whole view of the relationship between the interests of the state and personal or "party politics"? This question will form the basis for a discussion of the account of the coup within the context of the Alexiad as a whole.

Die Zitate in der *Alexias* Anna Komnenes

Für die byzantinische Literatur, zu deren innerstem Wesen *μίμησις* und damit auch das Zitat gehört, kann die Zitatforschung außerhalb der Byzantinistik Anregung zu einer zunächst partiellen, später vielleicht auch generelleren Neubewertung sein. *Μίμησις* wird zwar als Prinzip byzantinischer Literatur inzwischen allgemein akzeptiert, das sympathetische Interesse der Forschenden wendet sich aber bisher nur selten der Analyse und der ästhetischen Funktion solcher *μίμησις* zu. So interessiert traditionell die Philologen an den Zitaten nicht ihre Form und Funktion innerhalb der Schrift, in welcher sie stehen, sondern mehr ihr Wortlaut und eventuell ihre Bedeutung für die Überlieferung dessen, was in ihnen zitiert wird. Abweichungen vom Original werden als - allenfalls verzeihliche - Sünden angesehen.

Anna Komnenas Zitaten hat Georgina Buckler einige Seiten ihrer 1929 erschienenen Monographie zu Anna Komnene gewidmet, allerdings unter dem Gesichtspunkt "Anna and Education" und "Plagiarism in general"; sie hat gleichwohl der Sache nach einige gute Beobachtungen beigetragen, z.B. diejenige, daß Anna sich nicht in die Nachfolge des Thukydides stellt. Das Proöm, der Ort der programmatischen Zitate, enthält sehr vieles, nur nicht Thukydides (obwohl man auch in modernen Handbüchern diese Behauptung immer noch liest), im übrigen auch nicht Herodot. Annas nicht auf Thukydides und Herodot gerichtete Orientierung weicht von den frühbyzantinischen und ebenso den spätbyzantinischen Historikern ab und wird auch von anderen Autoren der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit geteilt, z.B. von Niketas Choniates, Psellos, Kinnamos und Georgios Akropolites; erst Pachymeres wieder stellt sich ausdrücklich in die Nachfolge des Thukydides.

Annas literarisches Traditionsprogramm wird an Hand der Zitate im Proöm des Werkes erläutert.

An einigen Zitaten aus Homer wird dann gezeigt, daß die Ansicht, Abweichungen vom Original seien mit schlechtem Gedächtnis erklärbar, nicht haltbar ist. Es handelt sich bei den Zitaten nicht um aufgesetzte Bildungstrümmer und nebenbei hinzugefügte rhetorische Lumina, sondern um kunstvoll eingesetzte und kunstvoll wirkende Mittel der Gestaltung, um die eigenschöpferische Verwendung bisweilen auch von disparaten Zitatbruchstücken für ein neues Mosaik, das eine neue Einheit konstituiert. Die Abweichungen sind mit "due to a faint memory" nicht erklärbar. Viel wichtiger als die Frage nach ihrer Entstehung ist diejenige ihrer Wirkung auf den Leser.

Ebenso zeigt die Bearbeitung von Bibelzitaten für den neuen Kontext, daß es sich nicht, wie traditionell erklärt wird, um "mistakes" und "confused memory" handelt. Das bearbeitete Zitat hat einen Sinn hinter dem Text, z.B. Alexios in die Nachfolge Christi zu rücken. Der Leser soll die Einarbeitungen einerseits für einen Teil des Zitates halten, andererseits tragen sie deutliche Male ihrer Fremdheit. Der Text der *Alexias* enthält dem zitierten Text gegenüber geradezu poetische Freiheiten. Wir haben es mit angeeigneter Tradition zu tun, wo es erlaubt ist, auch mit Zitaten aus religiösen Texten frei zu schalten.

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The Reflection of Contemporary Tendencies in The Chronicle of Michael Glykas (XII century) and its Impact in the Following Centuries

The Chronicle of Michael Glykas, created in the second half of the twelfth century, contains the world history from the Creation to the beginning of the twelfth century (1118 AD.). It differs from other chronicles in its content, structure, as well as in its manner of narration. The presence of several special features allows one to view Glykas' Chronicle as a new type of historical narrative written within the framework of the world chronicle, a type that weaves together the elements of natural science, theology, ethics, as well as church and world history.

The first part, which contains "Hexaemeron" and the author's exegesis, represents Glykas' innovation in chronography. This part, according to the author's design, was meant to introduce the historical narration and to serve as an Introduction, in which he strives to describe as fully as possible the history of the Creation as well as the material of natural history in accordance with the Biblical teaching. In the second part, he devotes more space to the Biblical history rather than to legendary and ancient history, probably because he feels the need to convey more information about the Old Testament as the foundation of the Christian worldview. He describes the events of the Old Testament in a more detailed manner and includes in his narration new episodes from apocryphal sources. A close attention to the Church history and to the issues of theology, exhibited in the third and fourth parts of the Chronicle, in which the author describes the events of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, could have been caused by the plight of the Byzantine Church, which in the twelfth century experienced numerous dogmatic controversies. Even though the rationalistic ideas began to penetrate into Byzantine science and theology starting from the eleventh century, the dominant feature of Glykas' Chronicle continues to be the faithfulness to the Orthodox teaching, which he, apparently, tries to defend against the influence of unorthodox ideas and elements of rationalism.

The Chronicle is written in a simple language, which allows one to say that it is addressed to the wide audience which did not necessarily receive a classical education. Writing during the age of the Comneni when the historiography was almost totally in the hands of the members of the imperial family or its court circles who oriented themselves toward the style and language of classical models, Glykas boldly introduces into his Chronicle "the new style," which corresponds more to the taste and the way of thinking of the Byzantine reader of his time.

The manuscript tradition of The Chronicle testifies to its wide popularity (sixty mss; XIII-XVIII c.). Publishing Glykas' Chronicle in 1858, Ch. Euthymiades wrote: "This is an original work, which contains the material of natural history and theology; it is very beneficial for one's reading since the author expresses in it the true dogmas of the Church, arguing with heretics and bringing truthful testimony from the writings of the Church fathers and theologians." The fact that the interest in The Chronicle has been preserved during several centuries after its completion, is the testimony that the author succeeded in expressing in his work such features of the Byzantine outlook that emerged in the twelfth century, but which remained for the most part typical in the following centuries.

THE OTHER AS A FATE

The Westerners in the Historical Writings of Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niketas Choniates

The article deals with the reflection of the Westerners in two historical works from the end of the 12th and the very beginning of the 13th century: the narration of Eustathios about the capture and plunder of Thessaloniki by the Normans in 1185, and the *History* of Niketas Choniates. The main points discussed in the article are how the Westerners are presented, how the cultural and linguistic differences are reflected, in which way the negativism of the outlook is combined with certain positive elements, and to what extent the accusations against the others are transformed into criticism of their own society.

The *topoi* in the expression of attitude towards foreigners are inherited by the tradition of the Hellenic education and by the Byzantine imperial ideology as well. Both Eustathios and Choniates are aware of the cultural and linguistic differences existing between Byzantium and the Latin-West. The strangeness is related with curiosity, and sometimes with clear irreconcilability. However, because of the more mutual and frequent contacts in the period, the Westerners are relatively well known and differentiated by the authors.

The traditional negative attitude, based on *topoi*, is replaced by more reality and originality. The negative experience, and also the feeling of cultural superiority do not bar some positive observations to be made. The narrowness of the typical Byzantine outlook is broken by the flood of the events. The vividness of the descriptions is due to the fact that both Eustathios and Choniates were eye-witnesses of the events described. There are also similarities in the style and expressions used, due either to direct borrowing or to the common cultural milieu. Thus, the aristocratic way of thinking lines them even more with the foreign *élite* than with the city mob and the 'zealot'-minded monks.

But while Eustathios deals with a concrete event, Choniates includes in the scope of his *History* the problems of a long period which started with a relative upsurge of Byzantium and finished with the crash of 1204 and its consequences. More than Eustathios, Choniates presents not only the external alienation between the two part of the Christian world, but also turns his sight into the problem of the internal alienation as an incurable disease of his own society. Moreover, in the *History* of Choniates there is no any attempt to domesticate the others nor to overcome their strangeness. The Westerners could be evil sent by God to punish the Byzantines for their sins, and also examples of bravery, strength, honour, and nobility. The description of the others is a means of displaying the weak points of the Byzantine society in the period under discussion.

ONOMATOLOGISCHES ZUR TOCCO-CHRONIK (in griechischer Sprache)

Giuseppe Schirò hat in seiner Editio princeps (1975) zu wenig auf das interessante Namengut der Chronik der Tocco geachtet. Hierzu wird folgendes vorgeschlagen:

1. Zu Bedeutung, phonetischer Form und Etyma der Namen zweier Söhne Carlo's I.:
 - a) Μενόνοϛ Vv. 3138, 3141 / Μενούνοϛ 1949 nicht < *Menuno (Schirò), sondern < Mennone < lat. Memnon < homer. Μέμνων
 - b) nicht *Τριᾶνοϛ (Schirò) 1955 < *Triano, sondern nach der Hs. Τρο(γ)ιάνοϛ zu schreiben, < Troiano < lat. Troianus
2. Zur grammatischen Form (Genus/Numerus bzw. Endung) zweier Toponyme:
 - a) zu ergänzen τοῦ<ς> Ζαβέρδαϛ (m. pl.) 158; daneben τὴν Ζαβέρδα (f. sing.) 164
 - b) nicht τὸ Βρωμοπίδ<α> (Schirò) tit. III 24, sondern τὸ Βρωμοπίδ<ι> zu ergänzen
3. Drei "Phantomwörter" zu beseitigen:
 - a) sonst unbelegtes Ἀκρόμερα 46 zu korrigieren in Ξερόμερα
 - b) " " σερβιῶν 1197 (Schirò: "servi") zu korr. in Σερβιῶν ("Serben")
 - c) τὸν Μοραΐον 3681, 3689 nicht τῶν *Μοραΐων (Schirò, = Μοραϊτῶν), sondern τὸν *Μορέον, Nebenform von Μορέαν, zu schreiben
4. Vier nach Schirò "romanische Betonungen" rückgängig zu machen:
 - a) nicht *Φράγκιαν 20, sondern Φραγκίαν nach der Hs. zu schreiben
 - b) " *Σέρβιαν 710, " Σερβίαν " " " " "
 - c) " *Κεφαλόνιαν 1866, " Κεφαλονίαν " " " " "
 - d) " *Ἰτάλιαν 3331, " Ἰταλίαν " " " " "
5. Nicht erkannte Fälle von Zusammenrückung (des Typs Μάρκο-Μπότσαρης) darzustellen:
 - a) nicht Δήμο<υ> Μπούα τοῦ ἀλβανίτου (Schirò) 2288, sondern Δήμο-Μπούα τ. Ἀ.
 - b) ὁ Σγούρου-Μπούας 1113 ("nördlicher" Vokalismus für Σγοῦρο-Μπούας)
 - c) nicht Νικολαφράγκον (Schirò) 1759, sondern nach der Hs. Νικολοφράγκον (daneben aber auch ὁ Νικόλα-Φράγκος 2152) zu schreiben
 - d) ὁ Παῦλο-Σπάτας 468, τὸν Παῦλο-Σπάταν 484
 - e) ὄνομα Γκίνη-Σπάτας 790 (ähnlich 797, 804, 812)
 - f) μὲ τὸν Γιαγούπη-Σπάταν 2272
 - g) μὲ τὸν Μουρίκη-Σπάταν tit. III 4 (ähnlich in den Paragraphen III 5 und 6)

[Punkt 5 kann weggelassen werden, wenn sich herausstellen sollte, daß die Zeit dafür nicht ausreicht.]

Rokay Peter

Wer war der König der Daken in einem Briefe des Theodoros Gazes?

In einem Briefe des berühmten, in Rom lebenden griechischen Humanisten, Theodoros Gazes, den der Ausgeber Ludwig Mohler ins Jahr 1473. datiert, ist ein König der Daken erwähnt, der damals in der ewigen Stadt weilte und dort feierlich empfangen wurde. Der bekannte ungarische Byzantinist Gyula (Julius) Moravcsik war der Meinung dass der ein ungarischer König sein sollte.

Der Ausgeber des Briefes von Theodoros Gazes hielt das Wort neben der Daken augenscheinlich für einen Personennamen. Das scheint zeigen dass er dieses Wort in Personennamenregister aufgenommen hatte. Er hatte aber diesen Dakenkönig auch hier nicht identifiziert sondern nur registriert. Franz Dölger hat gezeigt, dass hier wirklich um ein Fehler Mohlers handelt. Doch hat Dölger Moravcsiks Identifizierung angenommen. Wer wäre aber dieser Daken-, bzw. ungarischer König sein?

Die Tatsache, dass die byzantinische Verfasser die Ungarn als Daken nennen, haben die zwei bekanntesten ungarischen Byzantinisten Matthias (Mátyás) Gyóni und Gyula Moravcsik festgestellt. Moravcsik nach aber, die byzantinische Schriftsteller erwähnen unter den Namen der Daken in mehreren malen, neben den Ungarn auch andere Türkvölker, namentlich die Petschenegen.

Die letzten von Moravcsik angeführten Beispiele beziehen sich auf Transylvanien und auf die Wallachen in dieser Provinz. Der rumänische Gelehrte Al. Barcacila hat aber gezeigt, dass die Namen von Dacien und Daken bei den mittelalterlichen Schriftstellern nicht nur Transylvanien und ihren Einwohner, sondern auch Dänemark und die Dänen bedeuten.

Der von Theodoros Gazes erwähnte Dakenkönig also wahrscheinlich ein Dänenkönig war. Aber welcher? Von Erich VII hielt man vorher tatsächlich dass er Rom besichtigt hatte. Der Biographie von Erich VII, K. Erslev hat aber gezeigt, dass diese Meinung auf einen Missverständniss ruht. Übrigens die angebliche Reise Erichs sollte im Jahre 1424. stattgefunden worden, und damals lebte Theodoros Gazes noch nicht in Rom.

Ein anderer Herrscher hatte aber, obwohl nicht im Jahre 1473, sondern vor Ostern 1474 Rom tatsächlich besichtigt und wurde von dem Papst und den Kardinälen feierlich empfangen. Dieser war Christian der I König von Dänemark. Wenn diese unsere Identifizierung stimmt, ist der Brief von Theodoros Gazes, - in welchem der Dakenkönig erwähnt wurde - im Jahr 1474 zu datieren, was bei einer neuen Edition der Briefen des Theodoros Gazes zu beachten sei.

Аналогия в антропологических взглядах Максима Исповедника (VII в.)

Метод аналогии использовался уже античными философами. Достаточно вспомнить известную аналогию между человеком и миром как микро- и макрокосмосом. Христианские авторы также применяли этот метод, но основания для проведения аналогий стали совсем иные. Яркий пример тому - аналогии в антропологии Максима Исповедника. Из них мы рассмотрим две, которые связаны с распространенным в восточнохристианском богословии учении об обожении ($\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$), то есть единения Бога и человека и обретения последним божественных свойств.

Применение аналогии позволило Максиму прийти к весьма оригинальному пониманию некоторых вопросов антропологии. Хотя Максим разделял мнение античных мыслителей о человеке-микрокосмосе, однако эту идею богослов ставил в зависимость от божественного замысла об обожении всего творения, что и призван был осуществить человек. Именно по этой причине, как считает Максим, в человеке присутствуют части сродные частям мира (тело, душа, чувства, ум), а сам человек может называться микрокосмосом.

Другая аналогия в творениях Максима зиждется на подобии между божественной и человеческой природами Христа, с одной стороны, и единением Бога и человека, достигаемого в результате обожения, с другой. Единство природ Христа согласно Максиму возникло как $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{o}\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$. В творениях несомненного приверженца халкидонского Вероопределения такое "взаимопроникновение друг в друга" предполагало наряду с единством, различие и неслиянность его природ. Описывая результат обожения - единство Бога и человека, Максим отмечал, что человек в этом случае будет $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\omega$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{o}\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ - "весь целиком перешедший всецело в Бога". Очевидное сходство терминологии приводимых описаний - прежде всего имеется в виду употребление термина "περὶχώρησις" и его производной формы - говорит о том, что у Максима единство Бога и человека предстает аналогом единства божественной и человеческой природ Христа.

Рассмотренные примеры позволяют увидеть роль аналогии в формировании антропологических взглядов Максима Исповедника. Во-первых, Максим переосмысливает античное понимание аналогии микро- и макрокосмоса и на этой основе высказывает своеобразное суждение о человеческой природе, соответствующей макрокосмосу, что обусловлено, по его мнению, божественным замыслом об обожении. Во-вторых, аналогия между Христом и человеком дает возможность Максиму перенести христологические идеи в область антропологии. При этом аналогия проистекает из терминологии, послужившей для обозначения единства природ Христа, и опирается на уподобление Бога и человека после обожения. Таким образом, аналогия в творениях Максима существенно обогащает его антропологические взгляды.

*"Traces of Neoplatonism in a Byzantine Medical Commentator:
The Case of John of Alexandria"*

The general question of contacts between medicine and philosophy in Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period has been raised and substantially treated before. One may refer in particular to a classic study by L. G. Westerink, "Philosophy and Medicine in Late Antiquity,"¹ as well as to some more recent contributions to the topic by R. Todd and W. Wolska-Conus.²

To date it has been possible to show, among the medical writers at Alexandria, the clear influence, on the one hand, of the philosophical teaching routine and, on the other, of distinctly philosophical approaches to discussion, such as the four dialectical methods and the (Aristotelian) four causes. What has not come up for examination previously, for lack of sufficient evidence, is the issue of whether one can detect in the late Alexandrian commentators on Galen and Hippocrates signs of a specifically Neoplatonic presence.

Now there is new material available for one commentator, John of Alexandria (fl. sometime between 550-650 A.D.), and the subject may be broached at least for this individual. A forthcoming volume in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (Berlin) series will contain a) the first edition of parts of John's original lectures on *Epidemics VI* and b) a new, improved edition of his lectures on *De natura pueri*.³ In both of these commentaries on Hippocratic works there are unmistakable traces of Neoplatonic thought, especially in passages which deal with issues involving the divine, the soul, birth and death.

This paper will in brief fashion identify the terminology in question, clarify the Neoplatonic connections, and raise the matter, as H. Blumenthal has done in a related context,⁴ of ambiguity - - - namely, are we dealing here with Neoplatonism in its pagan or in its Christian form?

1. *Janus* 51 (1964) 169-177; repr.: *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature*, Amsterdam 1980, 83-91.

2. R. Todd, "Galenic Medical Ideas in the Greek Aristotelian Commentators," *Symbolae Osloenses* 52 (1977) 117-134; W. Wolska-Conus in two of her three studies on Stephanus of Athens and Stephanus of Alexandria, *REB* 47 (1989) 5-89 and *REB* 52 (1994) 5-68, esp. 51-68.

3. The *Epidemics VI* text is edited and translated by J. M. Duffy; the new edition and translation of John on *De natura pueri* was prepared in a seminar at Buffalo led by L. G. Westerink.

4. "John Philoponus and Stephanus of Alexandria: Two Neoplatonic Christian Commentators on Aristotle?", in: D. J. O'Meara (ed.), *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, Albany 1982, 54-63.

Prof. Dr. Stefan Deschauer

Über das große byzantinische Rechenbuch aus dem Jahre 1436

Im Jahre 1963 edierten Hunger und Vogel eine Aufgabensammlung aus dem Cod. Vind. Phil. gr. 65 ("Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts ..."). Diese Aufgabensammlung ist nur ein kleiner Teil dieses Codex; der Hauptteil erweist sich als ein systematisches methodisches Lehrwerk und beinhaltet offenbar das gesamte mathematische Wissen der Byzantiner am Ausgang der Paläologenzeit.

Im Vortrag soll das sog. 1. Buch mathematisch und fachsprachlich vorgestellt werden.

Schooling in the Palaiologan Period

Scholars agree that in the Byzantine Empire responsibility for education was shared by three factors: the state, the church and private initiative. But the question, to what extent each of them was involved with the matter, has been answered differently so far. In my contribution to the Round Table I confine myself to the last Byzantine period and try to draw reliable conclusions from the sources about the share of the three factors in educational initiatives.

A passage in Pachymeres (Failler II, 369-371) on the revival of building institutions by emperor Michael VIII and Patriarch Germanos III seems to supply evidence that both state and church promoted education from the beginning of the Palaeologan period. But the imperial foundation was no more than a secondary school and the patriarchal institution no more than a school to prepare clerics for a preacher's career. Neither Michael VIII nor another emperor seem to have founded or revived an institution which can be compared with a university or academy, except the *katholikón museíon* founded by John VIII in 1448. But even the school founded by Michael is never mentioned again in another source. Educational activities of the imperial court after Michael VIII and till 1448 remained confined to elitist scholarly circles, where a small percentage of the educated minority could compete in rhetorical or scholarly proficiency.

Also the traces of a longer continuing existence of the clerical school are rather vague, although a permanent interest of the patriarchs to give their clerics some instruction for their preaching practice can hardly be denied. There is at any rate no evidence of a patriarchal school, or even an academy, for education on a higher than the mentioned level.

On the other hand we have some evidence for the existence of private schools. Their initiators could sometimes hope for financial support by the emperors, especially during the time of Andronikos II. But in a time of economic decay they were never sure to get the money hoped-for, neither by an emperor nor by the parents of their students. The best way to get qualified higher education was to make friends with a distinguished scholar, who was willing to give a promising young man unpaid lessons.

The common mind of the general development of time concepts from classical cyclism to medieval linearism cannot be applied to Byzantium without special remarks. So Theodosius Diaconus stated the cyclic recurrence of time. But Byzantine historiography turns out to present somewhat different from the classical temporal approaches if one analyses not only declarations of authors but the substance of the topic.

In Byzantine historiography time is much more individualized (Anna Comnena, Eustathius, Nicetas Choniates, Gregoras). Particularization of time was closely connected with symbolics of temporal organization of Byzantine mentality (Nicephorus, Theophanes, Scylitzes, Gregoras). Time was measured rather not by equal quantitative intervals, but by interchange of "omens", "signs", "symbols", "prophecies" (Malalas, Genesius, Attaliates, Glycas).

Historical time in Byzantine historiography was expressed in anthropomorphic categories: its substance became apparent through men's actions rather than through abstract course of chronological intervals. The annalistic principle of narrative remained unique in Byzantium (Theophanes, *Chronica brev.*).

Time in hagiography is neither cyclic as in the *Histories* and *Biographies* of classical antiquity, nor linear as in medieval annals and chronography. For the category of time in *Lives* characteristic is its providentialism: the prediction is the chief form of appearance of the holiness of a Saint and the main form of appearance of time. The events are merely realization of a prophecy, directed into the future: the temporal development shows as a revelation, resp. "apocalypse" (Basil the Younger). The past in hagiography does not matter, it can be, even has to be, neglected (Philarete the Merciful).

The special case is the idea of stochasticity in Byzantine temporal approaches that was arisen during last period of Byzantine tradition, by the 14th C. The new important category that described the development of events became according to X. Chvostova the verb *ορεχάζομαι*, i.e. "to appear probably", "to be realized by certain conditions, according to prevision". It was used not only in the chronicles, but also in the preambles of Byzantine documents of this period.

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7612

Did the Emperor and his people share the same time ?

Notes on the use of time in 10th century Byzantium.

Taking as starting point the imperial processions as described in Constantine Porphyrogennetus' *De Cerimoniis* combined with data from hagiographical and historiographical sources this paper intends to examine

- a. the accuracy of our informations with regard to the the calendar evolution, i.e. shorter or longer processions corresponding to shorter or longer days,
- b. the adjustments necessary to correct the discrepancies between real and theoretical time-measurement, and
- c. the compatibility between imperial, ecclesiastical and lay use of time.

M.A.Poljakovskaja

**FREISINN ODER ANGST ?DIE MORALISCHEN DOMINANTEN ZWEIER
KORPORATIONSGRUPPEN DER BYZANTINISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT**

1.Die byzantinische Gesellschaft, im Unterschied zu mittelalterlichem West, war stärker atomisiert. Dennoch kann man hier einige Korporationsgruppen - ohne das formalische Anzeichen, aber mit innerere Verbindungen - finden.

2.Die byzantinische Intellektuellen haben solche Korporationsgruppe gebildet (auf europäischem West waren ähnliche Gruppen bis zur Zeit der Renaissance nicht). Das Anzeichen der Zugehörigkeit zu solcher unformalischen Gruppe war neben hoher Erudition ein besonderer - hellenischer - Geist, der auf die Freiheit der Persönlichkeit und deren besondere Stellung im Reich orientiert war. Das Hauptattribut der Freiheit war für den Intellektuellen die *παρρησία*, das Recht, seine Gedanken frei aussprechen zu dürfen. Die Vertreter dieser Gruppe haben die Kritik an der Macht als ihre wichtigste Funktion in der Gesellschaft verstanden.

3.Η *σχολή* hatte jedoch der Vertreter der intellektuellen Runde die Mittel ihrer Existenz nicht gegeben: dazu bedurfte es eines Amtes. Durch diesen Umstand wurde der geschlossene Kreis zerrissen. Die Intellektuellen betraten den Kreis der Bürokratie, die in Gestalt des Hofbeamtentums noch eine Korporationsgruppe in der unkorporierten byzantinischen Gesellschaft vorgestellt hat. Die moralische Dominante in diesem Kreis war die Angst, seine Stellung auf der Diensttreppe zu verlieren. Dieser Kreis hatte einen anderen "Ehrenkodex". Ein Intellektueller, der beiden Gruppen de facto angehörte, sollte "die Spielregel" dieser zwei Gruppen empfangen. Es hatte einen Streit der beiden verschiedenen moralischen Richtlinien, eine Spaltung und die Vertiefung des sogenannten "Byzantinismus" zur Folge.

The *Oracles of Leo the Wise* (PG, 107, 1129 etc.), wrongly attributed to the emperor Leo VI, are known to be the most obscure text in Byzantine prophetic literature. It was generally assumed that the prophecies predict the reign of successive Byzantine emperors and the resurrection of a Saviour King. However, all attempts to identify these emperors have been in vain, as the text contains no allusions to recognisable historical facts, no proper names, etc., and is written in an very cryptical and ambiguous language.

Up till now, little attention has been paid to certain fundamental differences between the *Oracula* and other Byzantine prophecies. 1. In the second part of the *Oracula*, the "ideal ruler" is not described as the Last Emperor well known from many Byzantine apocalypses: he has no political program and his government does not end with the traditional eschatological scenes (the reign of the Antichrist and the Second Coming of Christ). 2. No other prophecy describes the revelation and the investiture of the "ideal ruler" in so an elaborate way and in this *ritual* terminology. It is the mysterious celebrant of the ceremony himself who (in the first person) directs the ritual phrases to the ruler. This celebrant must be the same as the equally mysterious "prophet" who reveals the first part of the *Oracula* (or. I-VI), which are also recorded in the first person. 3. The *Oracula* also differ from other texts in their use of a very sophisticated language and style. The esoteric terminology and metaphors contain many references to Neoplatonic mysticism, Pythagorism (speculation on numbers), Hellenistic mysteries (Mithras), the *Corpus Hermeticum*, astrology, magic and alchemy. 4. The strange *figures* (σχήματα), which constitute an essential part of the text, are a *hapax* in Byzantine miniature painting. Only illustrations in late classical and medieval pseudo-scientific and occult texts provide some interesting similarities.

By carefully comparing the *Oracula* with many texts from the above mentioned "marginal" areas of literature, I have finally come to the conclusion that this prophecy permits an *exoteric* and an *esoteric* interpretation. According the former the text indeed deals with the resurrection of an "ideal ruler", who was considered to be dead. According to the esoteric or mystic interpretation, what is described is the *spiritual rebirth* of a man, who is born to an new life of wisdom or piety, and who finally is consecrated as the "true king". This unusual mixture of the apocalyptic theme of the Saviour King and that of spiritual rebirth, only occurs, as far as I know, in the Byzantine alchemic poems of the *Pseudo-Heliodorus* (ca. 700) and in some medieval latin texts of the same genre.

I therefore argue that the *Oracula Leonis*, in their original non-interpolated redaction, are pseudo-oracles, which are not intended to predict the future, but to reveal other "secrets", not unlike the *Oracula Chaldaica*, which reveal the mysteries of Neoplatonic theurgy. These oracles were not destined for a public at large, even less were they political pamphlets: they were designed for *initiates*. The author of the *Oracula* and his initiated public might be situated in Constantinople among Neoplatonic circles (which in general also meddled with occultism), maybe in the ninth century, when Neoplatonism made its first come-back (with great scholars like Leo the Mathematician, Photios, a.o.). It was also the time of the alleged author of the *Oracula*, the emperor Leo VI.

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"Malchus of Philadelphia and the Rise of Byzantium"

The collapse of the Roman government in the West (A.D. 476) was an event crucial to the rise of Byzantium. So long as an imperial government persisted in Italy, the Roman Empire had anchors in both West and East. After 476 the empire had a lone center of administration, the New Rome on the Bosphorus. The Justinianic and Macedonian Dynasties to come are a measure of the capabilities of an empire based in the East.

One of the most astute witnesses of the drama of 476 was the rhetorician Malchus, originally from Philadelphia in the Decapolis but a longtime resident of Constantine's city. Malchus wrote a Byzantiaka early in the reign of Emperor Anastasius I. The title of the work reveals its focus -- the affairs of Byzantium were paramount. The work survives only in fragments, mostly those preserved in the historical excerpts commissioned by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. A careful study of these remains reveals the disposition of the imperial government and residents of Constantine's city, just when the New Rome was beginning to manage imperial affairs alone. The attitudes evident are instructive to all modern Byzantinists. Malchus regards the imperial ventures of the 470s and 480s as a continuation of longstanding efforts of the Romans to hold their empire together. The backward-looking perspective of Malchus is visible in other authors who wrote on imperial affairs during the reign of Anastasius I. This attitude should cause modern Byzantinists to wonder how pertinent and valid is the notion of a "Byzantine Empire."

The Identity of the Byzantine Province in the 12th Century

In the beginning of the 12th century the archbishop of Achrida, Theophylactos, and the archbishop of Cyprus, Nicolaos Mousalon, provide a lot of information about their remote provinces through their written works. Their testimonies, completed by other previous or posteriors ones, enlighten the conditions of living in the Byzantine provinces during the Comnenian period. From their information it becomes clear that the main source of income of the inhabitants during that period remains agriculture and also that agricultural economy was the basis of state taxation. There were no big cities in the provinces and active trade is not mentioned. At the same time the demographic problem and the lack of human resources is intense. Bad administration and heavy taxation were the main problems of the population, who remained working on its land.

Consequently it becomes obvious that the inhabitants of the Byzantine provinces were called to pay the cost of the ambitious policy of the Comnenian dynasty.

Perdikas von Ephesos und seine Beschreibung Jerusalems: Die heiligen Stätten, gesehen von einem Byzantiner des 14.Jh.s

Der Codex Vindob.Phil.gr.149 und Vat.gr.33 (beide stammen aus dem 14.Jh.) beinhalten eine Beschreibung der in Jerusalem stattgefundenen Wundertaten Christi in Versen, ein Werk des Protonotars Perdikas von Ephesos. Der in politischen Versen verfaßte Text wurde von K.Krumbacher abfällig ein "arm-seliges Lehrgedicht" genannt. Unter rein literarischer Betrachtung mag das angehen, aber nicht, wenn man diesen Text im geistigen Klima des 14.Jh.s einzuordnen versucht, indem wir ihn als Reisebericht aus der Palaiologenzeit betrachten und seine Glaubwürdigkeit hinsichtlich der besprochenen Denkmäler überprüfen. Besonders auffallend ist die Diskrepanz zwischen der "uneinnehmbaren" biblischen Stadt (Jesaja 37, 33-35) und den historischen Gegebenheiten im 14.Jh. Der dichterische Reisebericht setzt ein wachsendes Interesse für solche Texte voraus und weist auf die gesellschaftlichen und finanziellen Aspekte des Reisens in der Palaiologenzeit hin. Die Welt eines gebildeten Byzantiners während dieser Zeit endet nicht an der Grenze des eigenen kleinen und verkommenen Staates. In der ersten Hälfte des 14.Jh.s kann man mit relativer Sicherheit von Konstantinopel aus mit dem Schiff im östlichen Mittelmeerraum fahren. Auch das Interesse der Byzantiner für die früheren byzantinischen Gebiete, wie z.B. die heiligen Stätten, bleibt in der spätbyzantinischen Zeit wach (Am 2.10.1187 hatte Saladin Jerusalem erobert). Der Text von Perdikas ist nicht nur ein Reisebericht (eine literarische Gattung, die zwischen dem 4. und 7.Jh. ihren Höhepunkt erreichte), sondern auch eine Eulogia, eine Segnung, als Ergebnis des Besuches von Jerusalem. Die Verwendung sowohl von alt- und neutestamentlichen Stellen als auch von bei Ortsbeschreibungen typischen Gemeinplätzen (Lobpreisung der geographischen Lage bzw. der Festung und bestimmter charakteristischer Bauten) wird durch das Heranziehen von Abbildungen Jerusalems in vorhandenen Kunstdenkmälern veranschaulicht. Der Protonotar Perdikas, der kraft seines Amtes enger Mitarbeiter des Patriarchen war, hat einen literarischen Reisebericht religiösen Inhalts hinterlassen und folgt damit dem im 14.Jh. vorherrschenden Reisegeist, der eine auffallende Textproduktion förderte, unabhängig davon, ob bestimmte Reisen tatsächlich unternommen wurden.

Antonia Kioussopoulou

7634

La Notion de la ville d'après une "lettre" de Manuel Chrysoloras

Dans ce bref rapport je vais examiner la notion de la ville telle qui se présente dans l'oeuvre de Manuel Chrysoloras, un intellectuel byzantin, qui a vécu à la fin du monde médiéval et au seuil d'une époque nouvelle.

"NEW IDENTIFICATIONS OF HANDWRITING IN TENTH AND ELEVENTH-CENTURY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS"

1. Scribe Epiphanios: Epiphanios copied the Moscow manuscript of John Chrysostom, Hist. Mus. Vlad. 100. This large (420 x 290 mm. and 266 folios) codex, written on fine quality parchment, was executed for an imperial ostiarius Euphimos, very probably, in Constantinople. The script is a rare example of early nonelaborated "bouletee," with a conspicuous influence of the "philosophical collection" minuscule and cursive script of the beginning of the Xth century. The colophon of the Moscow codex does not give the date of its execution, but paleographic characteristics of the script point to the beginning of the Xth century (e.g., a very small percentage of uncial forms, ancient form of double tau, script written on the ruling lines). The hand of Epiphanios can be recognized in another manuscript -- Vat. gr. 90 (Lucianus). Especially revealing are the letters dzeta, eta, uncial kappa, and tachygraphic abbreviation

. The Vatican manuscript's marginalia were written by Alexander, bishop of Nicaea, and Jacob, metropolitan of Larissa. The marginalia are dated by Barbour between 925 the latest and 945, which support our attribution of both manuscripts to the beginning of the Xth century. Paleographically, the two codices are connected with three important groups of manuscripts: "philosophical collection," associated with patriarch Photius; manuscripts in cursive script, several written for archbishop Arethas; and manuscripts written in "bouletee."

2. Scribe Sergios: A monk of the Studios monastery, Sergios copied codices Paris. gr. 1431 (Eusebios) and Vat. gr. 2564 (Gospels). His script -- "bouletee italique" -- was attributed by Agati to the middle of the Xth century. Another Studite manuscript -- Jerusalem, Panag. Taphou 13 (Nazianzus) -- can be attributed to the hand of Sergios. This manuscript displays all the peculiarities of Sergios's handwriting. The name "Sergios" in the Jerusalem manuscript's colophon is partially erased (".... "). Identification of the handwriting makes it possible to restore the name as ".... " and to date the manuscript around the middle of the Xth century.

3. Anonymous scribe: This scribe's handwriting is a beautiful example of "hieratic Perlschrift." He copied three Gospels: Athens, Bibl. Nat. 57; Moscow, Hist. Mus. Vlad. 13; Vat. Ross. gr. 135-138, and three Psalters: Berlin, Univ. Libr. 3807; Harvard, Univ. Libr. cod. 3; Vat. Barb. 320. All six codices are luxurious and richly illuminated books. Art historians have unanimously attributed them to a Constantinopolitan atelier. The manuscripts do not have colophons. The Harvard Psalter can be dated from Easter Tables that begin in A.D. 1105. Paleographic characteristics of the script indicate a close connection to the traditional handwritings of the last third of the XIth century. The Harvard Psalter was probably written at the end of the scribe's career.

In sum, these three new identifications add to our understanding of book production in three major Constantinopolitan scriptoria.

WAYS AND BY-WAYS OF THE *COMPUTUS GRAECORUM*: THE EVIDENCE OF CAS. 641

The path of the Alexandrian *computus* through Europe - from the initial translation and commentary by Dionysius Exiguus (525) to the final acceptance in western Europe under Charlemagne - is only partially known. Part of the uncertainty is due to the fact that to the contemporaries the characterization *computus graecorum* could mean "from Byzantine territory" as well as "ancient Greek." How, precisely, did the Dionysian *computus* make its way through Byzantine territory to the rest of Europe? Its known stages of propagation include the edition by Cassiodorus (562), that of Felix of Squillace (616), the statement of support by Pope Vitalianus (657-672), and the endorsement by Bede (725). The input by Cassiodorus, Pope Vitalianus and Felix has, however, been questioned, and students of Bede hold somewhat contradictory views: while they concede that Bede must have used pre-existing Dionysian tables, he is also thought to have invented those from 532 to 1064, known to us only through a reconstruction based on fragments of Northumbrian provenance.

The Dionysian tables in Cas. 641 are an untapped source of information on the tradition of the Dionysian *computus*, and also on the circumstances in Byzantine Italy up to the VIII century. These tables are published in MGH IX as *Additamentum IV*, together with Easter cycles from two other manuscripts that, like Cas. 641, show the names and regnal years of Roman emperors annotated in the cycles subsequent to 532. The edition presents several inaccuracies, only partially detected by Lehmann, and ignores the Vatican codex Ross. 247, that, like the triad in *Additamentum IV*, has the names of Roman emperors recorded in later cycles, and presumably derives from the same archetype.

A close reading of Cas 641, f.49 sqq., shows that the Dionysian tables travelled from Vivarium to Rome, thence to a Benedictine monastery in Lombard territory, though not necessarily Montecassino; and that, far from being derived from Bede, some annotations in Cas. 641 were among the sources of Bede's chronicle, e.g. the entry on the Vandals in *DTR LXVI*, 1587-88, unnoticed by Mommsen and subsequent editors. Overall, Cas. 641 is remarkably close to the historical and theological perspectives fostered at Vivarium. The annotations to the years computed *ab Incarnatione* highlight the history of the *computus* proposed to the West by Dionysius Exiguus, but also that of the Church councils that elaborated on the doctrine of the Incarnation: Nicaea, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople. The historical sources are authors recommended and/or translated at Vivarium: Prosper, Marcellinus, Sozomenus without the medium of the *Historia tripartita*. The day of the capture of Carthage by Genseric, noted in Cas. 641 *adan* 439, is found only in some manuscripts of Prosper's chronicle, specifically the family that included the copy used by Cassiodorus to write his own chronicle. The addition of Sicily to this entry, common to Cas. 641 and to the chronicle of Cassiodorus, is not derived from Prosper, but a local addition - most likely by the Cassiodori, for whom resistance to Vandal advances in southern Italy was a page in family history (*Var.* 1.4).

The Vivarian perspective of Cas. 641 extends beyond the known chronological limits of Vivarium (616). One leaf is missing in the codex, leaving a gap from 570 to 578, but subsequent annotations (the eclipses of 664, the Constantinopolitan Council in 680, the lack of allegiance to Leo III after 725) show the continuity with the Vivarian school of thought, possibly indicating the existence of Vivarium in the late 7th century, the survival of its tradition, or both. Up to the year 725, the environment of Cas. 641 is Italian and Mediterranean, and the historical perspective is often close to that of Byzantine writers, particularly Theophanes. These annals reflect the continuity of culture between southern Italy and Byzantium, but also the break that occurred at the beginning of the iconoclastic controversy under Pope Gregory II. For the annotators of Cas. 641 the reign of the Isaurian emperor truly ended after eight years: those annalists were Leo's good servants, but the Pope came first.

Byzantine Illuminations in the Kongelige Bibliothek

In 1877 — the year when Uppsala University celebrated its 400-year-jubilee — a French librarian from Sorbonne, Charles Graux, visited the University Library of Uppsala and the Royal Library of Copenhagen to make a report on the inventories of the collections of Greek manuscripts. He published two *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs*, one for Carolina Rediviva and the other for the Kongelige Bibliothek.

Three illuminated tetraevangelia (one from the National Museum in Stockholm) preserved in Sweden are exposed in the New Carlsberg Glyptothek during the congress. Two unpublished 11th-century manuscripts in parchment in the Kongelige Bibliothek are of particular interest, Gr. 167 and Gr. 1343. The first was originally bought in Venice by Fredrik Rostgaard in 1699 and later belonged to the library of count Christian Danneskiöld Samsø, illustrating the second part of a menologion for November (16–30) with thirteen illuminations, representing a series of standing saints, some with scenes of their martyrdom also appearing, to be compared with representations on icons and liturgical vestments: Matthew the evangelist, Gregory of Nazianz, the Thaumaturg, Platon the martyr, Amphilochios, bishop of Ikonion, Gregory, bishop of Agrigent, saint Catherine, pope Clement, the martyr, Peter the martyr, archbishop of Alexandria, Mercury the martyr, Aypios, James the Persian, St. Stephen the younger and Andrew the evangelist.

The second manuscript contains a magnificent frontespiece of the Cappadocian Father Basil the Great, regulator of the Eastern cenobite monasticism, as bishop, surrounded by two groups of monks, headed by their hegoumenoi, abbots, adorning the treaty, *Ascetics*, of dubious origin, generally not attributed to St. Basil himself. This important portrait will be analyzed within the frame of the rich Basileian iconography.

Glagolitic, Greek and Oriental Manuscripts of St.Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in the National Library of Russia in St.-Petersburg.

There are a number of manuscripts in the National Library of Russia in St.-Petersburg (NLR) which were brought from St.Catherine's Monastery of Sinai by archim.Porphiry (Uspenskij), archim.Antonin (Kapustin), K.Tischendorf, V.N.Beneshevitch, P.I.Savvaitov and other scholars, who had been given these manuscripts for the work which they had done for the Monastery. Those are mostly Greek as well as Slavonic, Arabic and Syrian manuscripts and their fragments. Among them are the Bychkov Psalter of the 11th century with fortune-telling additions, the Gospel of Dobromir of the 12th (and the 14th) century, sheets of the Book of Hours of the 13th century, the Sinai Palimpsest of the 12/13th century, the Menaion (Sept.-Oct.) rewritten in 1611 by Abdallah Huri ibn Isa, a monk of Sinai Monastery, the Syrian Euhologium of melchidian script of the 14-15th century with an contributive inscription in the Arabic language: "This noble book is bequeathed to the church of Sinai Monastery and anyone who takes it out of the church or tears a sheet out of it, will become the enemy of Our Lady and his destiny will be the same as that of Judas Iscariot".

The most ancient among the Sinai manuscripts in NLR are fragments of the famous Greek "Codex Sinaiticus" of the 4th century from Genesis, Numbers and the Shepherd of Hermas and fragments of a papyrus Codex of the 5th century - the first Epistle of Apostle Paul to the Corinthians.

In 1975 Slavonic manuscripts were found at St.Catherine's Monastery, which had been immured in a hiding-place in the crypt of St.George Church. I.Tarnanidys found among them Glagolitic manuscripts, including the Psalter of Dimitri the Ol'tar'nik of the 12th century and the Sinai Missal of the 11th century. According to him, the latter is the most complete Old Slavonic Glagolitic Missal of the early post-Cyrillo-Methodian period. He also found many missing sheets of well-known codices. Among them there are 28 sheets of the Euhologium of the 11th century, the major part of which had been kept in the monastery library.

Four sheets from this Euhologium Sinaiticum are in St.-Petersburg. One was brought from Sinai by N.P.Krylov and is kept in the Library of the Academy of Sciences. Two others were brought by archim.Porphiry and one more - by acad. N.P.Kondakov. These sheets were given to the Imperial Public Library (now NLR) and they were added to it's Glagolitic treasures that were formed by the Zograph Gospel and one of the best Glagolitic collections, belonging to Dalmatian scholar I.Berchich, which had been bought by the library in 1874. Having studied the collection in 1911, I.Milchetich called it the most significant collection of Croatian Glagolitic fragments.

Besides fragments of Breviaries and Missals of the 13-15th century, this collection of monuments of the Croatian glagolitic writing includes five codices of Rituals and Collections of the 16th century as well as sermons and documents of the 15th to 18th century.

Apart from manuscripts an album also kept in NLR should be mentioned. This album titled "Vues et antiquités du Synaï par Mr le professeur N.Kandakoff (Sic!) et phot. J.X.Raoult. [Odessa, 1881]" was created by its authors after their trip to Sinai in 1881. The album contains 100 unique photographs of the ancient architecture of Mount Sinai, Sinai Monastery and photo-copies of Glagolitic and Greek manuscripts of the monastery library. We have a reason to suppose that the NLR album is the only copy that has survived till nowadays.

THE TVER MANUSCRIPT OF CHRONICLE OF GEORGIUS THE MONK: INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FRONTISPIECE ILLUMINATIONS AND MARGINALIA. NEW FACTS.

Codicological investigations of the illuminated Tver manuscript of the Chronicle by Georgius the Monk (The Russian State Library, f.I73.I, N 100), dated by first half of the XIVc., in the most complete and systematized form took their reflection in the works by G.I.Vzdornov, G.Z.Bykova, I.P.Mokretsova, G.V.Popov and O.A.Kniazevskaja.

Continueing this theme, the marginalia of the manuscript and inscriptions on it's frontispiece miniatures have been researched in the Department of manuscripts (RSL) on the base of the Laboratory for Restoration of Disappear Texts(1993).

That is rezult, for the first time the inscription at the picture of Tver Cathedral of Transfiguration of the Saviour (the first frontispiece miniature) has been reconstucted as: "[а ны] не гладькъ в[здѹ]ха[ми]" - "and now it is plain (infigurated) on the vaults".

Correlation between this inscription and the events of the Tver history allowed us to date it presumably by the time nearly 1349.

At the second frontispiece miniature we succeeded to read at the roll of Georgius the Monk three last lines of the text: "Ма- н[ии]. Фе[к]ель. Фе[ре]с[ъ]" - citation from the Book of the Prophet Daniel (Dan 5.25).

We also succeeded to extend the reading of the hard damaged prayer note at the last sheet of the codex, where, how it has been turned out, the name of Theodor is mentioned (presumably of the Tver bishop Theodor II (1344-1360)).

On s.71v we found out the marginalia of the scribe: "из нонна- нивна са хочѣтъ ". It is the wrong interpretation of the name Iesus Nauin as "The native of the town Ninevy" ("Nauin" in Hebrew is "The son of Nun").

On s.126 we have read the marginalia of the boundary XIV-XVcc.: "Ико видѣ ис[а]и[и] образъ на пре(с)т[о]лѣ" - the scholium, which presents the beginning of the heirmos of Song 5 voice 3 (canons to the Trinity, Saturday at midnight, and to the Cross, Friday in the morning).

A part of marginalia received their specifications. For all marginalia the motivation of their appearance in manuscript has been retraced. The communication is illustrated by 14 photos.



UN'ESEMPLARE DELLA *RETORICA* DI ARISTOTELE COPIATO DA MASSIMO PLANUDE E GIOVANNI ZARIDE.

Il *Vaticanus gr.* 1340 è un codice *miscellaneus*, vergato su carta araba orientale, 267 x 207/10 mm. La parte più antica (ff. 43-194), che deve essere datata alla fine del XII secolo;¹ presenta un commento anonimo della *Rhetorica* aristotelica (ff. 43-163), alcuni scolî ai capitoli finali del libro III (ff. 163-166) e il commento di Stefano (ff. 166-194v).²

La prima parte del codice (ff. 7-42, con la *Rhetorica*), più recente, è opera di quattro scribi, fra i quali abbiamo identificato Massimo Planude (nei ff. 19 l.1-2, 23-30v, 39-40v, 41 l. 21-42) e il suo allievo Giovanni Zaride (nei ff. 31-38v). Anche gli altri copisti sono probabilmente allievi del monaco; almeno il copista dei ff. 7-14 (tranne il f. 13 l.9-13v, di una mano più rozza) è anche responsabile della trascrizione dell'*editio* planudea dei *Moralia* nel *Matritensis* B.N. 4690, che forse fu copiato non molto dopo la data del *Ambrosianus* C 126 inf. (a. 1295/6). A questo esempio della collaborazione fra Planude e Zaride dobbiamo dunque aggiungere il *Vaticanus gr.* 1340, un terzo manoscritto testimone delle opere di Libanio (*Vaticanus Urb. gr.* 125)³ e, probabilmente, il *Marcianus* XI,6, che sarebbe stato vergato nel 1321 da Zaride ed altri copisti ma il cui scriba A è senza dubbio Massimo Planude (!).

Il nostro erudito ha incluso parecchie correzioni nel testo trascritto dai suoi allievi e nella parte antica del commento (p. es., ff. 48v, 56v, 64) e ristaurato il margine superiore interno dei ff. 105, 106, 137-141v, 153, il che conferma che l'unione di ambedue le parti del volume attuale erano già insieme alla fine del duecento.

¹ Cf. Genova, Archivio di Stato, Materie Politiche 18/2737 D-B (a. 1191), in N.G. Wilson, "Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine period", *PGB*, pp. 221-239 e M. Formentin, "La grafia di Eustazio di Tessalonica", *BBGG*, 37 (1983), pp. 24-25 (Tav. II), questa più riposata, come capita con gli esempi dati da H. Hunger, "Gibt es einen Angeloi-Stil?", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 32/33 (1990/91), pp. 21-36. Mancano all'inizio di questa parte antica otto quaternioni (f. 43, inc. quad. 8) eppure la fine è mutila.

² Ed. *Anonymi et Stephani In artem rhetoricam Commentaria*, ed. H. Rabe, CAG, XXI, 2 (Berlín 1896); vid. D. Harlfinger-J. Wiesner, "Die griechischen Handschriften des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentatoren", *Scriptorium*, 18 (1964), p. 255; D. Harlfinger-D. Reinsch, "Die Aristotelica des Parisinus gr. 1741", *Philologus*, 114 (1970), p. 42, n. 29.

³ La grafia di Zaride appare nei ff. 79r-v e 84 l. 1-15; quella di Planude fu identificata da B.L. Fonkič, "Notes paléographiques sur les manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques italiennes", *Thesaurismata*, 16 (1979), pp. 161-163.

Un sarcophage-reliquaire conservé au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève

En 1991, le Musée d'art et d'histoire se portait acquéreur d'un sarcophage-reliquaire (n^{os} inventaire AD 7964 et 7965) qui orne depuis cette date, d'une manière discrète, la salle consacrée au Proche-Orient médiéval.

Or, il s'agit d'une pièce du plus grand intérêt qui constitue un ensemble cohérent composé d'un sarcophage de marbre clair veiné de rouge, à couvercle coulissant, et d'un reliquaire en tôle d'argent soudée, également muni d'un couvercle plat. Le sarcophage mesure 51 cm de long, 27 cm de hauteur et 25,5 de profondeur. Il est donc d'assez grande dimension par rapport aux objets de ce type.

L'ornementation, d'une grande sobriété, montre de grandes croix pattées; les unes gravées sur la cuve et le couvercle du sarcophage, l'autre réalisée au repoussé sur le couvercle du reliquaire qui porte aussi une inscription ciselée en caractères grecs majuscules, assez irréguliers, « ΑΙΨΑΝΑ (pour ΑΕΙΨΑΝΑ) ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ », soit « restes des saints martyrs et apôtres ». Le ciselage des lettres rappelle celui de l'inscription du couvercle d'une boîte-reliquaire du City Art Museum de St. Louis qui pourrait bien être originaire de Syrie. Un autre reliquaire d'argent conservé au musée d'Adana porte une inscription tracée de manière analogue.

L'inscription atteste de l'usage de cet ensemble comme lisanthèque chrétienne et permet de le dater vers la fin du V^e ou le début du VI^e siècle. Dès les premiers temps de l'Eglise, les reliques furent étroitement associées à la célébration de la messe et en Syrie, peut-être la région d'origine de notre pièce, de petits sarcophages semblables étaient disposés le long des murs des églises. Bien entendu, de telles œuvres étaient également connues dans les autres régions de l'Empire d'Orient et en Afrique du Nord et certaines ont été envoyées en Occident, avec des reliques à l'intérieur.

Le laboratoire du musée a étudié et restauré ce reliquaire; il a pu déterminer que l'argent, qui montre encore quelques traces de dorure, et qui comprend un peu de cuivre, ainsi que de l'or et du plomb à l'état de traces, est d'une excellente qualité.

Depuis la fin du siècle dernier, des découvertes célèbres de trésors d'orfèvrerie et d'argenterie des V^e et VI^e siècles ont été faites en Syrie, en Asie mineure, à Chypre et dans les Balkans, mais rares sont les sarcophages-reliquaires complets qui possèdent encore leurs deux parties, cuve de pierre et boîte d'argent, comme le nôtre. On peut cependant le rapprocher du célèbre ensemble découvert sous l'autel d'une basilique paléochrétienne à Varna, en 1915; de dimensions beaucoup plus réduites, il comprend une cuve de marbre, une boîte d'argent et une autre en or et pierres semi-précieuses. Son décor, à base de croix, est également très sobre.

Une des particularités du sarcophage de Genève est son couvercle à coulisse; en effet, pour la plupart d'entre eux, les autres exemples montrent une couverture en bâtière le plus souvent surmontée d'acrotères. D'autres possèdent des couvercles plats qui s'emboîtent. Sur ce point, notre exemple s'apparente à un autre reliquaire, en grès, trouvé près de Varna.

Le sarcophage-reliquaire du musée de Genève, qui est probablement originaire de Syrie ou d'Asie mineure, permet de rappeler l'importance de l'orfèvrerie de cette région au début de la période byzantine. Il devrait occuper une place de choix dans une salle du Proche Orient médiéval à la présentation renouvelée.

Zum Stand der Neubearbeitung von Franz Dölgers „Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches“ an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Zwischen den Jahren 1924 und 1965 erschienen die fünf Regestenbände Franz Dölgers, zu den byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden, seither ein unerläßliches Hilfsmittel der historischen Forschung. Peter Wirth, der bereits am letzten Band verantwortlich mitgearbeitet hatte, legte im Jahr 1977 zunächst den Band 3 in zweiter Auflage vor (EA: München–Berlin 1932; Zeitraum: 1204—1282); 1995 folgte die Neuauflage von Band 2 (EA: München–Berlin 1925; Zeitraum: 1025—1204).

Der Vortragende selbst ist seit Herbst 1995 mit der Neubearbeitung von Band 1 (EA: München–Berlin 1924; Zeitraum: 565—1025) beschäftigt. Dieser Regestenband enthält auf Grund der prekären Überlieferungslage der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden so gut wie keine Originale, sondern setzt sich zum Großteil aus Erwähnungen kaiserlicher Urkudentätigkeit zusammen, wie sie sich in den übrigen schriftlichen Quellen der Zeit finden. Seit Dölgers Erstauflage des Bandes hat sich die Materialgrundlage, die für eine Auswertung zur Verfügung steht, bedeutend erweitert (s. etwa den Bereich der Hagiographie). An Einzelbeispielen soll nun gezeigt werden, welche Probleme dem Bearbeiter aus der gegebenen Quellensituation erwachsen (chronologische Schwierigkeiten, Fragen der Echtheitskritik u.a.). Von den angeschnittenen Problemstellungen fällt ein interessantes Schlaglicht auf den Stand der Erforschung dieser "frühen" Jahrhunderte — und dies nicht nur in diplomatischer Hinsicht.

Siegel als Quelle für Slawen und Slawenarchonten
in Griechenland

Vor dem Versuch einer weiterführenden Auswertung der Siegel für diesen vielumstrittenen Problemkreis empfiehlt es sich, sie zunächst erneut aufgrund des modernen Forschungsstandes zu untersuchen und möglichst genau zu datieren. U. a. wären zu behandeln:

Νέβουλος, Ende 7. Jh.

Τιχώμπος β. σπαθάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Βελεγεζητῶν, 8. Jh.

Πέτρος ὑπάτος κ. ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος, 8. Jh.

Δαργασκάβος ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος, 2. Hälfte 8. Jh.

....γος β. σπαθάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Ἐβιδιτῶν, 2. Hälfte 8. Jh.

N.N. (Ἰωάννης ;) β. σπαθάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Αἰβιδιτῶν, 1. Hälfte 9. Jh.

Κωνσταντῖος ἄρχων τ. Βιχητῶν, 2. Drittel 9. Jh.

Ἑσάγης β. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος κ. ἄρχων τ. Βιχητῶν, 3. Viertel 9. Jh.

Νικήτας β. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος κ. ἄρχων τ. Βη[χητῶν] (;), 2. Hälfte 9. Jh.

Μιχαήλ β. σπαθάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Κερμινίτζας, letztes Drittel 9. Jh.

Ἰάκωβος (ΕΙΑΚ.Ρ.) β. πρωτοσπαθάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Βαγενιτίας, spätes 9. Jh.

Λέων (;) β. ὀστιάριος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν κ. ἄρχων τ. Βιχητῶν τ. Ἑλλάδος, spätes 9.-1. Hälfte 10. Jh.

Ἰωάννης β. κουβικουλάριος κ. ἄρχων τ. Βιχητῶν τ. Ἑλλάδος, frühes 10. Jh.

Am "prominentesten" ist wohl Nebulos, der Führer der bedeutenden slawischen Kontingente unter Justinian II.; von ihm kennen wir einen goldenen Monogramm-Ring (meine Publikation darüber ist im *VizVrem* 55/2 seit längerem in Druck). Das gleiche Monogramm können wir auch auf einem Athener Siegel nachweisen, dessen Rückseite allerdings beschädigt ist; sollte dort Ἰουνῶρος zu lesen sein, würde auch dieser Name, der in der fraglichen Zeit mehrfach sigillographisch belegt ist (als στρατηλάτης, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων und ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κ. παραφύλαξ) in diesen Zusammenhang gehören.

Tichomir war bisher nicht bekannt. Dargaskabos wird wohl mit Dragoslav zu verbinden sein. In der Streitfrage Ἐβιδίται/Ἐβλιῖται entscheiden wir uns eher für erstere Form. Kerminitzta würden wir mit Ortsnamen wie Kremenica zusammenstellen, die von kremy/kremene usw. ("Kieselstein, Feuerstein, Quarz, Silex") abzuleiten sind; bietet sich hier nicht Γρεμμενίτσα (heute Γραμμενίτσα) nahe Arta eher als Kernitzta in der nördlichen Peloponnes an? Daß bei den beiden jüngsten Siegeln von Archonten der Vichiten (beide sind übrigens Eunuchen!) Hellas als geographische Bezeichnung erscheint - ob es sich nun um das Thema an sich oder das Gebiet Elade am Spercheios handelt -, könnte darin begründet sein, daß ein anderer Teil des Stammes in einem benachbarten Thema oder Gebiet siedelte.

Andere Archonten, die für einzelne griechische Städte bezeugt sind, sollen hier nicht berücksichtigt werden. Schließlich glauben wir mit Nesbitt und Oikonomides, daß die Archonten von Strobilos in Karien und nicht in Epirus agierten (hierzu gäbe es ein weiteres, unpubliziertes Siegel in Kopenhagen, u. z. von einem Theodoros β. μανδάτωρ aus dem frühen 9. Jh.).

Bekannte und unbekannte Makremboliten-Siegel

- 1 a Eumathios Makrembolites, ἑπαρχος (2. H. 12. Jh.)
- 1 b Eumathios M. (2. H. 12. Jh.)
- 2 Johannes M. δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας (M. 12. Jh.)
- 3 a Johannes M. πατρικίος, ὑπάτος, κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, τοῦ βήλου καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν (ca. 1040-1060)
- 3 b Johannes M. πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου κριτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ τοῦ βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου (M. 11. Jh.)
- 3 c Johannes M. σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ κριτῆς Χαυζιζίου (2. Viertel 11. Jh.)
- 4 Johannes M. (spätes 11. Jh.)
- 5 a Johannes M. (1. H. 12. Jh.)
- 5 b Johannes M. (1. H. 12. Jh.)
- 6 Johannes M. (Wende 11./12. Jh.)
- 7 Johannes M. (2.-3. Viertel 12. Jh.)
- 8 Leon M. (12. Jh.)
- 9 Maria Makrembolitissa, κουροπαλάτισσα (70er Jahre 11. Jh.)
- 10 Maria Makrembolitissa, κουροπαλάτισσα (Wende 11./12. Jh.)
- 11 Michael Makrembolites Dukas (Wende 12./13. Jh.)
- 12 a Michael M. (2.-3. Viertel 12. Jh.)
- 12 b Michael M. (2.-3. Viertel 12. Jh.)
- 13 Michael M. (2. H. 13. Jh.)
- 14 Symeon M. κουροπαλάτης (E. 11. - 1. Drittel 12. Jh.)
- 15 Symeon M. (E. 11. - 1. H. 12. Jh.)
- 16 Theodoros M. μάγιστρος (80er Jahre 11. Jh.)
- 17 Theodoros M. πρωτοβέστης καὶ κριτῆς τοῦ Ὀψικίου (zw. 1065 und 1080)
- 18 Theodoros M. (E. 11. - 12. Jh.)
- 19 Theodoros M. (E. 11. - 12. Jh.)
- 20 Theodoros M. μητροπολίτης Μεθύμνης (2.-3. Viertel 12. Jh.)
- 21 Thomas (?) M. (E. 11. - 1. H. 12. Jh.)

Von diesen Siegeltypen sollen einige für den Vortrag ausgewählt werden, insbesondere 1 (es handelt sich um den Romanautor, der eben nicht Eustathios heißt!), 3 (bisher in zwei Fällen irrig als Georgios gelesen!), 10 und 14 (aufgrund der - leicht differenzier-ten - Avers-Darstellung der Koimesis und desselben Rangtitels als Ehepaar interpretiert), 11 (der einzige Vertreter, der auch den Dukas-Namen aufweist) sowie 16 und 17 (zwei zeitgleiche Synonymoi, die aber höchstwahrscheinlich nicht identisch sind).

THE SEALS OF BALDWIN II, LATIN EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1240-1261) IN THE COLLECTIONS OF ST.PETERSBURG

Most of the seals of the crusading rulers and prelates are kept in the Department of the East of the State Hermitage and formerly belonged to the collection of the Russian Archeological Institute in the Constantinople (RAIC). The forgotten part of the N.P.Likhachov collection with the seals of the European rulers of the Middle Ages and among them several seals of the crusading rulers of the Middle East and the Latin Empire are kept in the archives of the Institute of the Russian History in Spb.,

In the collection of Hermitage a seal of the Baldwin II (M- 4548) is kept. The types of the imaginations on the obverse and reverse are traditional: on the ob.s. is the image of the emperor in the full ornate of the byzantine basileus on the throne with labarum in the right hand and orb in the left hand. Along the upper circumference a circular latin inscription is placed between two concentric borders of pellets: +BALD[(vinus) D(e)I GRA(tia) IMP[(er)ATOR] ROMA[N(iae)] SE[MP(er) AUG(ustus)]]. On the r.s. is the image of Baldwin II in the full ornate as horse man triumphant. A circular greek inscription is placed between two concentric borders of pellets: ΒΑΛΔΟΥΙΝ(ος) ΔΕΣΠ[ΟΤΗΣ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ] Ο ΦΛ[ΑΝ]ΤΡΑΣ.

The inscriptions of Baldwin's II seals are very eloquent. In the Greek inscription he proclaimed himself heir of his uncles in county of Flanders and emphasized his birth in purple chamber. In Latin he used old Roman terms "imperator" ... "semper augustus", modifying them by the supplement of the medieval toponym "Romaniae".

Although being of the same type, the specimen of the N.P.Likhachov collection (coll. 54 IRH) is not completely identical to first. There are some differences in the details of the images and the inscriptions. Both specimens are made by different matrices.

The seals of Baldwin II are very different from the seals of his predecessors. The latter are of traditional West European type with the image of the ruler on the throne on the ob.s. and with figure of the knight on the horse on the r.s. The seals of Baldwin II before his coronation in 1240 were of this type, too. But after this year all images and inscriptions of his seals changed. We consider that the main reason of it was the international situation of the Latin Empire to the year 1240. Being surrounded by powerful enemies - the Asens of Bulgaria, the Komnenos of Epirus and the Lascarids of Nicaea, the emperor had to prove that he is the only legitimate heir of the Byzantine throne. For the realization of this idea he used images from the Byzantine emperor's triumphal circle. It is well known in the Byzantine art (monumental painting, miniatures, applied art), but it doesn't occur elsewhere in the sigillography and numismatics.

In the Byzantine sigillography images of the holy warriors as triumphant horsemen are very rare. As these representations are secondary in regard to the images of the emperor's triumphal circle, they are iconographically similar. Par consequence most similar parallel to the emperor triumphant on the r.s. of the seals of Baldwin II is image of S. George as horseman triumphant on the ob.s. of the seals of the sebastokrator Alexios Angelos (1185-1195). Both images have a common prototype, the basileus triumphant. But on the seals of Baldwin II traditional Byzantine images were used in new context and replaced the likewise traditional West European images. Consequently we can speak about a synthesis of both traditions. Perhaps this observation may not be limited to sigillography, but can be applied to other sides of the culture of the Latin Empire, too.

"Уникальная находка группы византийских печатей из Херсона"

В 1991-96 гг. у входа в херсонскую гавань была обнаружена большая группа византийских свинцовых печатей, компактно располагавшихся на площади около 100 м². Всего поднято со дна более 450 предметов, среди которых кроме моливдовулов присутствуют торговые пломбы и заготовки для печатей. Несмотря на длительное пребывание в морской воде многие из них хорошо сохранились и поддаются определению. Хронологические рамки комплекса печатей VI-XIII вв.

К самым ранним относятся моливдовулы императоров Юстиниана I, Фоки и Ираклия, а также печати таможенных чиновников времени правления Ираклия /632-635/ и Константа II /659-668/.

Самой поздней печатью является фрагмент буллы киевского архиепископа Кирилла /1225-1233/.

Благодаря новым находкам значительно пополнился корпус печатей византийского Херсона. Помимо известных выявлено достаточно много новых имен местных чиновников. Среди них: кир города Лев и епископ Захария /VIII в./, архонты Зоил и Федот /VIII-IX вв./, экдик Никифор /IX-X вв./, куратор города Сергей и протевон Иоанн /X в./.

Расширилась и географическая карта городских корреспондентов. Обозначились связи с морскими таможнями империи - Авидосом и Иероном, фемами Эллада и Фессалоники, отдельными регионами Таврики. Кроме того встречены моливдовулы различных чиновников и военных VIII-XI вв.

Среди сфрагистических типов присутствуют традиционные монограммы имен и должностей, инвокативные монограммы с тетраграммой, изображения крестов, Богородицы, святых, животных и птиц.

Находка этой группы печатей безусловно имеет неоценимое значение для исследователей византийской сфрагистики и позволяет, в известной мере, расширить наши сведения не только по истории Херсона, но и всего Византийского государства.

Sudak archive of seals. New finds.

Seals found on the territory of the ancient port of Sougdaja (now - Sudak, Crimea) become more and more important source for the studies in the history of this medieval town.

In 1994-1995 about forty new specimens were discovered, all of them badly preserved.

Among them the seals that name "Sougdaja" in their inscriptions hold a special place, because they allow us to draw some new conclusions about its administrative system.

Three seals from the same bulloterion are especially interesting. They bear the bust of St. George on the obverse and inscription of seven lines with the name of George, strategos of Sougdaja, on the reverse (XIth c.). So these objects reveal a very significant fact, unknown before, of existence in Sougdaja of strategia or theme.

One more seal (with a patriarchal cross on three steps with fleurons and an invocative circular inscription on the obverse) belongs to Peter, archbishop of Sougdaja. It can be dated to the second half of the Xth century. This seal confirms the information of the written sources that Sougdaja became archbishopric not later than in the Xth century.

The report also deals with seals of early Byzantine period; seals of officials of Cherson (IXth c.), Kosmas genikos commerciarios of Pontos (IXth c.), Phocas imperial spatharios and strategos of Anatolie (IXth c.) and some others.

Le ravitaillement de Constantinople aux Xe/XIe siècles selon quelques sceaux d'hôrreiaroi.

Le ravitaillement de Constantinople fut profondément transformé par la perte de l'Egypte. Le blé public continua toutefois d'être distribué aux fonctionnaires et aux militaires. Désormais le comte de Lamia à Constantinople gérait le blé envoyé par les hôrrciarioi des greniers publics. Les sceaux, en particulier ceux de l'IFEB, permettent de mieux connaître cette administration. Il apparaît que les hôrrciarioi étaient établis dans les plaines productrices, servies par des débouchés fluviaux ou maritimes (Philippoupolis, Smyrne, Aminsos...). Ils étaient fort bien représentés en Bithynie, ce qui souligne le rôle notable de cette province dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople médiévale.

Über einen neuen Fund aus Sudak.

Die Probleme der byzantinischen Handwerks und Handels haben sehr wichtige Bedeutung für die Aufklärung der ökonomischen Besonderheiten des Imperiums dieser oder jener chronologischen Periode. Trotzdem sind diese Probleme bis jetzt zu wenig untersucht. Die Ursache liegt an geringer Anzahl des Materials, das man aus verschiedenen Quellen hauptsächlich vom VII.Jh. bis zur Mitte des IX.Jh. herausziehen könnte. Auf diesem Hintergrund sind die Angaben der Bleisiegel sehr wertvoll. Als Beispiel sind solche Bullen anzuführen, die auf die Existenz der Verkäufer der mannigfaltigen Waren :ἀργυροπράτης, βετιοπράτης, θηρικοπράτης, ὀλοσθηρικοπράτης in erwähnter Zeit hinweisen.

Diese Mitteilung ist einem sehr seltenen archeologischen Funde gewidmet. Es handelt sich um das Unikumsiegel von χαλκοπράτης = der Kupferverkäufer. Es wurde zusammen mit den anderen Bullen in Sudak entdeckt.

Av. Anrufungsmonogramm vom Typus Laurent Nr.V mit üblichem Tetragramm : + ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΒΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ .Rv. Die Legende lautet : + ΘΕΟ-ΦΑΝΙΧΑ-ΔΚΟΠΡΑ-ΤΗ .Am Ende der Legende folgt eine grosse stilisierte Ranke als Zierelement ;vielleicht befand sich unter der Legende ein Kreuz mit Zierranken zu beiden Seiten. Die Buchstaben sind hoch und relativ schmal. Das Siegel stammt aus der 2.Hälfte des VIII.Jh. oder aus der Wende VIII./IX.Jh.

Die Hinweise auf die χαλκοπράται sind nicht zahlreich. Die Papyri des VIII.Jh. erwähnen sie. Es ist bekannt, dass in Konstantinopel ein besonderer Bezirk τῶν χαλκοπρατείων existierte. In "Τὸ ἐπάρχικων βιβλίον " ist über die Corporation von χαλκοπρατῶν nichts gesagt.

Die Ärmlichkeit der archeologischen Angaben lässt sich nicht das Handels-Handwerksleben von Sugdeja in VIII.-IX. Jh. deutlich vorstellen. Der Mangel des eigenen Metalls lässt hier (nach Meinung I. Baranov) Import aus den Gebieten der Kupferbergwerken vermuten. Im Hafen von Sugdeja wurde grosse Menge der Blei-und Kupferbarren entdeckt. Die Bulle von χαλκοπράτης wurde hierher eingeführt. Sie könnte an einem sachlichen Dokument angeknüpft werden und die zu liefernde Fracht begleiten. Dieses Dokument konnte die Mitteilung von Theophanos über die Absendung der Ware oder den Vorschlag über ihre Erwerbung enthalten. Die Bulleherkunft ist schwer zu bestimmen.

Die Universität Jena besitzt die drittgrößte, öffentliche, deutsche Sammlung orientalischer Münzen. Im 19. Jahrhundert stellte das Orientalische Münzkabinett in Deutschland ein einzigartiges Zentrum für Islamische Numismatik dar. Mit Förderung des Weimarer Fürstenhauses wurde es 1840 von Johann Gustav Stickel begründet. Bis kurz nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg bestand es in Personunion mit dem Orientalischen Seminar. Erst seit der Erneuerung der Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena vor zwei Jahren wird die Sammlung wieder wissenschaftlich betreut.

Auf Anregung Johann Wolfgang von Goethes begann sich Stickel mit islamischer Sphragistik und später Numismatik zu beschäftigen. Zusammen mit Paul Casanova war er Pionier der orientalischen Sphragistik. Er trug in Jena eine auch heute noch bedeutende Sammlung von Bleisiegeln zusammen. Die Siegel stammen unter anderem aus dem Besitz von Vater und Sohn Mordtmann, Konstantinopel, Joseph von Karabacek, Wien, und Frédéric Soret, Genf.

Die Jenaer Sammlung umfaßt Bleisiegel aus vier Epochen mit unterschiedlichen kulturellen Beeinflussungen. Es werden jeweils Beispiele aus der Sammlung vorgestellt, zunächst Siegel aus der Zeit nach der arabischen Eroberung Syriens und Nordmesopotamiens aus dem siebten und achten Jahrhundert. Die Siegel haben Kreuzmonogramme und zusätzlich arabische Inschriften. In der Abbasidenzeit im 10. bis 11. Jahrhundert scheint die Praxis, mit Blei zu siegeln, eng mit der Finanzverwaltung, insbesondere der irakischen und iranischen Gebiete, verbunden gewesen zu sein. Die Siegel, deren Erscheinungsbild sich ganz vom byzantinischen Typus gelöst hat, wurden mit der Nennung des Ausgabeortes, dem Namen des lokalen Herrschers und mit einer Jahreszahl versehen. Vorläufer dieser Praxis gibt es auch schon in der Umayyadenzeit. Die dritte Periode setzt im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert ein. Kennzeichen dieser Siegel sind auf der einen Seite die Darstellung eines Heiligen und auf der anderen die Nennung des Siegelherren auf Arabisch oder Syrisch. Auch islamische Herrscher in Anatolien folgten diesem christlich-byzantinischen Siegeltyp. Die vierte Periode beginnt im 15. Jahrhundert mit der osmanischen Eroberung des byzantinischen Reiches. Ausgestellt wurden die Siegel nun von den Sultanen selbst sowie von Poststellen innerhalb des Reiches. Der Ausstellungsort wird jeweils auf dem Siegel genannt.

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DIE BYZANTINISCHEN BLEISIEGEL AUS UNGARN

Nach der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Lateiner 1204 nimmt der byzantinische Einfluß auf die angrenzenden Kulturkreise ab. Die bedeutenden byzantinisch-ungarischen Beziehungen wurden von vielen Historikern nicht zur Kenntnis genommen, und das nicht immer unabsichtlich.

Mit Recht betonte Guyla Moravcsik, Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn. *Sitz.ber. dt. Akad. Wiss. Berlin* 4 (1955) 28.: "... die Mehrzahl unserer früheren Forscher bemühte sich, den byzantinischen Einfluß zu bagatellisieren oder ganz mit Schweigen zu übergehen... Unsere Kunsthistoriker wollten die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Einflusses dadurch abschwächen, daß sie sagten, er habe nur durch die Vermittlung von Italien Ungarn berührt."

Als Beitrag zu den byzantinisch-ungarischen Beziehungen soll diese Veröffentlichung bisher unbekannter byzantinischer Bleisiegel in Ungarn gelten, die die Ergebnisse einer Forschung in etlichen staatlichen Archiven und Museen, besonders in Budapest, darstellt.

Die zu präsentierende Sammlung beinhaltet einerseits Kaiser-, Patriarchen- und Offizierssiegel vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, andererseits sind auch metrische und ikonographische Siegel vertreten.

The Byzantine coin-finds appear rather rarely in the Northern part of Central Europe after Anastasius, and it is not easy to draw conclusions about their function and routes of import. Joachim Herrmann in a paper published 1972-1973: "Byzanz und die Slawen am äußersten Ende des westlichen Ozeans", *Klio* 54/1972/, pp.309-319 = *Les Slaves et le Monde Méditerranéen*, Sofia 1973, pp.35-43, made an attempt to ascribe a group of solidi found in the North-Eastern part of Germany to some Slavic tribes living in the last decade of the VI century "on the border of the Western Ocean" /Theophylactus Simocatta, VI 2,12/. However it does not seem probable that the pieces, all of which practically are issued by Justinian, could be linked with the political contacts between the Obodrites and the Avars at the end of the VI century.

There are some Byzantine coin-finds from the area where the Slavs were already settled in the time of Justinian. Their number is not very large but it has been growing for the last decades, and the conclusions drawn from it can be checked thanks to the more abundant material from the South-Eastern Europe. Some similarities can be detected between the structure of coin-finds in the zone surrounding the imperial borders and that stretching more to the north, comprising the Southern Poland, Western Ukraine, and also Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia. There are mainly stray-finds of bronze pieces but also gold and silver coins. Some items seem to witness closer contacts between the Slavic tribes and the Empire, e.g. the two die-linked silver coins of Justinian found in Rabka /Lesser Poland, near Cracow/. In the VI century there was still a certain mobility among the tribes settling as well in the Black Sea and Danube area as in the Northern part of Central Europe.

Alan G. Walmsley, ARC Research Fellow, University of Sydney, AUSTRALIA

***Coin Frequencies in 6th and 7th Century Palestine and Arabia:
social and economic implications***

8502

The Numismatic Evidence

Large scale excavations at the urban sites of Pella and Jarash (Gerasa) in Jordan have produced a statistically viable body of data on coin supply and circulation in Byzantine and early Islamic Palestine and Arabia. A comparison of the 6th and 7th century Byzantine copper coins recovered at these sites (gold finds at sites are rare and thus statistically unreliable) reveals consistent trends, especially a major increase in the supply of folli and fractional coppers in the reigns of Justin I and Justin II.

Of particular interest is the sudden jump in copper coinage under Justin II at both sites. This should probably be attributed to a major increase in official consignments to Palestine and Arabia. At Pella most of the folli struck under Justin II came from the central mints of Nicomedia (52%) and Constantinople (33%) — not the closer and thus more obvious mint of Antioch (only 7.5%). A similar pattern is apparent at Jarash (Nicomedia 36.5%, Constantinople 46%, Antioch 7%). The earlier peak under Justin I and the intervening long reign of Justinian I similarly show the domination of one mint, viz. Constantinople. This also suggests official consignments to Palestine and Arabia during both reigns, although not on the scale as under Justin II. From the time of Tiberius II there is a wider representation of mints at Pella and Jarash, but also considerably fewer coins.

Implications

While Justinian's concern with the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem, is well documented, the numismatic evidence would suggest a considerable injection of funds by Justin I and a continuation under Justin II — indeed at an averaged annual level far in excess of Justinian. The prosperity of Palestine and Arabia in much of the 6th century is displayed in the archaeological record: evidence for major building projects in provincial centres (streets, walls and churches) is attested at Caesarea, Scythopolis, Tiberias, Pella, Jarash, Bostra and of course Jerusalem. Towns expanded, attaining their maximum size. The local economy, urban and rural, grew; agriculture and trade especially flourished. The art of the period attained new heights in quality and originality, with exceptional mosaics and painted ceramics being produced.

Following the reign of Justin II (d. 578) there is a marked decline in the supply and circulation of copper coins, even taking into account fluctuating production levels and quality of folli in the later 6th and 7th centuries. The variety of mints represented suggests no major consignments but only the local circulation of coins; accordingly many originated in Antioch. Others have already observed that the coins of Justin II continued to circulate widely for a long period: the 'Justin II and Sophia seated' type of follis still dominated in the later 7th century, and was copied at the Umayyad mint of Scythopolis/Baysan between 692–94 (dates as proposed by Michael Bates).

A minor improvement in coinage levels at Pella in the late 6th–early 7th century may reflect the growing local strategic importance of the town (also the only Byzantine solidi found at Pella date to Maurice and Phocas, but this may be coincidental). Support for this explanation can be seen in the expansion of Pella's Byzantine fort and, soon after, the important battle between the Islamic and Byzantine armies in 635.

The Byzantine coins recovered at Pella and Jarash reveal a shared numismatic history in the 6th and 7th centuries. When measured against other archaeological data, this material can contribute to our understanding of socio-economic conditions in the late Antique East.

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Issues Concerning the Numismatic Record of Byzantine Iconoclasm

Coinage of the Iconoclastic period in Byzantium had an unprecedented number and range of empress images, which elucidate the struggle between the iconoclasts and the iconophiles. While often corroborating the historical outline based on the scanty gathering of texts we have from that period, the numismatic record at points tells a somewhat different "story" of these complex political machinations.

The ruthless coup over her son orchestrated by the Empress Irene, the first restorer of orthodoxy, is illuminated by her rapidly increasing prominence on coins. The main numismatic innovation of the rule of Irene was the treatment of coin reverses. In some of the issues of the Iconoclast rulers, the reverses had depicted one or more predecessors of the ruling emperor, creating a kind of visual genealogy. The Empress Irene, however, boldly put her own bust on the reverse, a practice which was then replicated by later emperors.

On the gold coinage of Michael III, the Empress Theodora is emblazoned on the obverse, whereas her children--Michael, the official emperor, and Thekla--remain on the reverse. Theodora's daughter, Thekla, has a much more prominent role in coinage than she does in our written sources for the period. During the previous respite from Iconoclasm instrumented by Irene, religious figural imagery was only tentatively restored, and the coinage maintained the repertoire of ruler images, inscriptions and crosses that had filled the coinage of the iconoclast period. The rapid reappearance of the "classical" Christ type on coins after the second reinstatement of orthodoxy was a singularly dramatic gesture, broadcasting throughout the entire Byzantine Empire the restoration of orthodoxy. It is significant, too, that the image of Christ and not that of the ostensible emperor Michael III supersedes the Empress Theodora on the obverse side of his coins.

This precise imagery also appears on a gold consular medallion formerly in the Gutman Collection in Oberlin College that was misattributed to the joint reign of Constantine VI and Irene. With the Christ Pantokrator on the obverse, this medallion must now be reattributed to the regency of Michael III and Theodora. When this remarkable reintroduction of Christ's image on Byzantine coins did occur, Theodora slips into place on the reverse with her son, in an image quite similar to those that we have seen on coins from the regency of Irene over Constantine VI. This mirroring can hardly have been coincidental, for only about 60 years separated the two regencies.

**Нотариальные архивы итальянских консулатов городов Причерноморья XIII-XV вв.:
опыт реконструкции.**

1. Проблема реконструкции утраченных архивов городов Причерноморья, как кажется, не ставилась в научной литературе. Между тем, сохранившиеся фонды итальянских архивов, прежде всего - Венецианского и Генуэзского, а также и иные коллекции из разных собраний, позволяют в известной мере составить представление о документах, которые находились некогда в различных Причерноморских городах, входивших в сферу византийского влияния, где существовали итальянские торговые фактории. Это тем более важно, что собственно византийские архивы этих городов погибли безвозвратно. Реконструируя архивы итальянских консулатов мы получаем возможность судить и о том, как оформлялись сделки между греками и латинянами, каковы были юридические принципы деловых связей между различными этническими группами этих городов.

2. В докладе предлагается методика реконструкции нотариальных архивов, ибо именно нотариальные акты были основой коммерческого делопроизводства в указанный период.

3. На основе предварительного анализа нотариальных документов конца XIII-XV вв. в Венецианском и Генуэзском архивах нам удалось выявить 1699 документов, составленных генуэзскими нотариусами в городах Причерноморья с 1274 по 1475 гг., и 1148 - венецианскими, с 1315 по 1473 гг. В это число включены как оригиналы актов (*instrumenta*) и записи в нотариальных картуляриях (минуты и др.), так и несохранившиеся физически, но цитируемые нотариусами документы. В базе данных отражены имена 190 генуэзских нотариусов городов Причерноморья, из них 136 работавших в Каффе (1338 актов), 12- в Килие и Ликостомо (237 актов), 11 - в Трапезунде (38 актов), 10-в Тане (10 актов), от 1 до 3-х генуэзских нотариусов известно в Солдаё, Чембало, Готии, Симиссо, Ватице, Солхате, Севастополе (Сухуми), а также в Сарае на Волге.

Среди 36-ти известных по имени венецианских нотариусов Причерноморья преобладают те, кто составлял документы в Тане (23 нотариуса, 1094 актов), Каффе (7 нотариусов, 8 актов), и Трапезунде (5 нотариусов, 38 актов). Среди других городов представлены Чембало и более дальние центры - Тавриз и Астрахань. Особый интерес представляет возможность реконструкции серии актов канцлеров венецианского консулата в Тане с 1359 по 1452 гг.

Акты нотариусов ясно показывают основные приоритеты генуэзской и венецианской предпринимательской активности в регионе.

ΜΕΣΑΙΩΝΙΚΑ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ: ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΟ ΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ -
ΠΡΟΟΠΤΙΚΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΕΝΑ ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΤΟΥΣ

Εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πάλλα
(5. 1. 1907 - 11. 5. 1995)

1. Τά κενά στήν ἔρευνα τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς τέχνης τῆς Κύπρου εἶναι αἰσθητά: ἀπουσιάζουν τά μεγάλα συνθετικά ἔργα καί τά συστηματικά *corpora*. Ἡ ἐπισήμανση τῶν κενῶν αὐτῶν κατά Κλάδους (Τοπογραφία, Ἀρχιτεκτονική, Ζωγραφική, Γλυπτική, Μικροτεχνία, Εἰκονογραφία, λοιποὶ βοηθητικοὶ τομεῖς) εἶναι ὁ πρῶτος στόχος τῆς ἀνακοίνωσης.
2. Ἡ προώθηση τῆς ἔρευνας στά ἀνωτέρω πεδία προϋποθέτει τήν ὕπαρξη δύο βασικῶν ἐργαλείων: Βιβλιογραφίας καί τεκμηριωμένου Καταλόγου (*Catalogue raisonné*) τῶν μνημείων. Πρὸς τήν κατεύθυνση αὕτη ἀρχίζει ἐντός τοῦ ἔτους στό ἀρτισύστατο Ἱστορικό καί Ἀρχαιολογικό Τμῆμα τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου ἓνα Πρόγραμμα γιά τή σύνταξη τοῦ Ἀτλαντα Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων Κύπρου [ΑΜεΜΚ] μέσω ἡλεκτρονικοῦ ὑπολογιστῆ. Ἡ διπλή σημασία τοῦ προγράμματος εἶναι προφανής: ἀφενός θά συμπληρωθεῖ τό σχετικό κενό στήν Τ.Ι.Β., ἀφετέρου θά κατοχυρωθεῖ μέ ἓνα ἐπιπλέον τρόπο ἡ ὕπαρξη πλήθους σημαντικῶν μνημείων στά παρانونόμως κατεχόμενα ἀπό τοὺς Τούρκους (1974 καί ἐξῆς) βόρεια ἐδάφη τοῦ ἐπὶ χιλιετίες ἑλληνικοῦ Νησιοῦ.

An Illustrated Multilingual Lexicon of Byzantine Architectural and Sculptural Terms.
Work done and future projects.

The lack of a specific thesaurus of terminology in the field of Byzantine art has led us to the compilation of *An Illustrated Multilingual Lexicon of Byzantine Architectural and Sculptural Terms*. Compiled on the basis of Greek terminology, the Lexicon includes approximately 1000 major entries, which are derived from terms used in contemporary bibliography, and consists of two parts. Part one (the eight-language section) contains Greek terms with their synonyms and the corresponding English, French, German, Italian, Romanian, Russian, and Serbian terms with their synonyms, some footnotes, as well as references to the photographs and drawings which illustrate the entries. The Slavic languages are rendered with both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets. The second part is divided into the following seven bilingual sections: English-Greek, French-Greek, German-Greek, Italian-Greek, Romanian-Greek, Russian-Greek, and Serbian-Greek. In this part the Greek version corresponds to the first and main entry (key term) of the Lexicon, to which the user may then turn to find respective terms with their synonyms in each of the eight languages, as well as footnotes and references to the interpretive drawings and photographs.

Collaborators in the compilation of the Lexicon were: Dr. Ecaterina Buculei Cincheza, researcher at the Institute of Art History of Bucarest (Romanian terminology), Dr. Raffaella Farioli Campanati, Professor at the University of Bologna and Director of the Istituto di Antichità Ravennati e Bizantine of Ravenna (Italian terminology), Dr. Miltos Garidis, Professor at the University of Ioannina (Russian terminology), Dr. Anka Stojaković, Professor at the University of Belgrade (Serbian terminology). Many of the drawings which accompany the entries constitute original contributions. The architects Petros Kouphopoulos, Stauros Mamaloukos, and Marina Myriantheos Kouphopoulou created the greater bulk of the designs. In addition to the compilation of the Greek terms, their rendering into English, French, and German, and the selection of the examples of illustration, the authors of this report were also responsible for the coordination and the supervision of the totality of the work.

J.-P. Migne hatte sich vorgenommen, 2000 Bände herauszugeben, hat aber "nur" 1019 Bände, davon ein gutes Drittel in quarto, geschafft! Er hatte auf mehrere stattliche Projekte, wie eine Sammlung sämtlicher Konzilakten in 80 Bänden und einen ebenso umfangreichen *Orbis christianus* verzichten müssen. Die bekanntesten unter seinen Editionen sind die Reihen der griechischen und der lateinischen Patrologie, die 382 Bände umfaßen. Die übrigen 637 Bände bestehen aus der *Encyclopédie théologique* (171 Bände), der *Collection des orateurs sacrés* (90 Bände), der Reihe der griechischen Autoren in lateinischer Übersetzung (85 Bände), dem *Scripturae Sacrae cursus completus* (28 Bände), dem *Theologiae cursus completus* (28 Bände), den *Démonstrations évangéliques* (20 Bände), der *Histoire ecclésiastique* (26 Bände) sowie aus Editionen einzelner Autoren (J.-B. Bossuet in 11 Bänden, F. de Sales in 9 Bänden, N. Bergier in 8 Bänden, B. de La Tour in 7 Bänden usw.).

Die PL, erschienen 1844-1855, umfaßt 221 Bände mit 297.567 Seiten und 2.514 Autoren; die PG, erschienen 1857-1868, umfaßt 161 Bände mit 235.724 Seiten und über 700 Autoren. Die Bedeutung des Unternehmens ist nicht gleich nach Vollendung des Druckes klar geworden: Es handelt sich um eine gigantische Leistung, um die Verwirklichung eines Sammelwerkes, das wie kein anderes je auf dem Bereich der Altertumswissenschaften wissenschaftliche Studien und Forschung gefördert hat. Gegenüber bereits existierenden Sammlungen dieser Art bedeutet es einen riesigen Fortschritt (Vergleichsbeispiel: Die *Magna Bibliotheca veterum patrum* von A. Hierat Köln 1618 widmet dem 4. Jahrhundert einen einzigen Band, Migne hingegen 88 Bände nur für die lateinischen Autoren). Trotz intensiver editorialer Tätigkeit seit der Zeit Mignes sind seine Patrologien immer noch nicht obsolet geworden.

Trotz seines großen Erfolges und seiner Meriten weist das Unternehmen Schattenseiten und Unzulänglichkeiten auf, die hauptsächlich auf sein Erscheinen innerhalb kürzester Zeit zurückzuführen sind. Man hatte oft nicht einmal die Zeit einen bereits abgeschriebenen Text abermals zu kontrollieren. Darüber hinaus mußte Migne meistens seinen Vorlagen unbegrenztes Vertrauen entgegenbringen, nicht weil er leichtgläubig war, sondern weil er keine andere Wahl hatte. Viele Textfehler (Verlesungen, Auslassungen usw.) hätten mit etwas mehr Sorgfalt beseitigt werden können. Auch rasche Einsicht in die Handschriften, besonders in eine vom Vorgänger außer acht gelassene Handschrift, hätte vieles retten können. Die Editionen des Origenes (PG 11-17), des Beda Venerabilis (PL 90-95), welcher eine der denkbar schlechtesten Ausgaben überhaupt zur Vorlage gedient hat, des Hilarius de Trinitate (PL 10) und des Hieronymus contra Rufinum (PL 23) zeugen von den Unzulänglichkeiten der Patrologien von Migne. Ob diese Editionen für die Patrologien typisch sind, sei hier dahingestellt. Bei der Edition der Werke stellt Migne gegenüber seiner Vorlage (J. Sirmond 1696) fast einen Rückschritt dar. Zu den Mängeln Sirmonds kommen zahlreiche Fehler im neugedruckten Text (ca. 100 Fehler in den Briefen, davon ca. 30 Auslassungen oder Verschreibungen). Mignes Vorteile gegenüber seinem Vorgänger sind auf außerphilologischer Ebene zu finden: Handlicheres Format, bessere Schrift.

Sein Leben lang war Migne von einer furchtbaren Eile besessen, sein Werk, das ihm ohne Ende schien, so schnell wie möglich voranzutreiben. Vor jeder Kritik an ihm muß man jedoch berücksichtigen, daß seine Meriten seine Nachteile bei weitem übertreffen.

* des Theodoros Studites (PG 99)

Die Edition der Akten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils: Stand und Aufgaben

Der Text aller bisherigen Ausgaben der Akten dieses Konzils geht letztlich auf die editio Romana von 1612 zurück, die auf jüngeren Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana basiert. Die neue Edition in der Series Secunda der Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, mit deren Vorbereitung 1991 an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften durch den Vortragenden begonnen wurde, wird sich für den griechischen Text voraussichtlich auf drei der 16 bis jetzt bekannten Handschriften, nämlich Taur. B II 9, Marc.gr. 166 und Vat.gr. 836, für den Text der lateinischen Fassung des Anastasius Bibliothecarius auf Paris.lat. 17339 (mit teilweise unbekannten Glossen des Anastasius), Vat.lat. 1329 und eine Gruppe jüngerer italienischer Handschriften stützen. Die Edition wird eine umfassende Bestandsaufnahme und Auswertung der Überreste der ersten, für Hadrian I. angefertigten lateinischen Fassung enthalten und die Überlieferung einzelner Abschnitte der Akten in den Florilegien (vor allem Paris.gr. 1115) und in den kanonistischen Sammlungen berücksichtigen.

Der in zwei Teilbänden geplanten Ausgabe werden Publikationen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, zur ursprünglichen Gestalt der Akten und zu Echtheitsproblemen, zur Florilegienüberlieferung und zu den Hadrianbriefen vorausgehen. Der Vortrag behandelt in Kürze die Relation der einzelnen Überlieferungszweige zueinander, das Problem des ursprünglichen Textbestandes und die Stellung der Florilegien in der Überlieferung.

For Colloquium 9.3., Methodology:

"NEW RESEARCH METHODS"

see the following pages in the volume MAJOR PAPERS:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 9.3.1.1. The World Wide Web Archive of Watermarks and Papers in Greek Manuscripts (Robert W. Allison, Lewiston, USA) | 465 |
| 9.3.1.2. The Electronic Documentation of The Benaki Museum, Byzantine Collection (Anastasia Dandraki, Dimitris Parapadakis, Ifigenia Dionyziadou, Athens) | 477 |
| 9.3.1.3. Relating Prosopography to Byzantium: The Development of the Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire's Computerised Relational Database (Dion Smythe, United Kingdom) | 491 |

AUTHOR: SILVIA RONCHEY

TITLE: FROM TILLEMONT TO THE ANNALES: IMAGE AND INFLUENCE OF
BYZANTIUM IN MODERN EUROPEAN LITERATURE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

L'histoire de l'intérêt que l'historiographie moderne porte à Byzance est indissociable de l'histoire de la notion d'Etat, c'est-à-dire de la discussion qui s'éleva en Europe entre la période de l'absolutisme et la période des Lumières, qui accompagna ensuite le processus de formation des états nationaux et la parabole de l' "état fort" prussien, et qui se poursuit encore de nos jours avec le débat sur l'étatisme et sur l'"expropriation des moyens administratifs" réalisée par l'Etat aux dépens des citoyens (Max Weber), débat qui explique le grand intérêt que par exemple les spécialistes de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age de l'école soviétique ont porté au modèle de l'Etat byzantin.

Dans le monde médiéval, Byzance représente l'"Etat" par excellence, en tant qu'extension temporelle et orientale de l'empire des Césars. Mon aperçu vise à souligner l'actualisation des différents aspects de la conception byzantine de l'Etat chez les états modernes et, donc, chez leurs historiographies.

Dans les quelques lignes à ma disposition dans cet extrait préliminaire, je me bornerai à envisager le commencement de l'histoire de l'historiographie sur Byzance, avec l'*Histoire des empereurs* de Tillemont (1690-1738). Dans sa perspective, l'histoire de la première et de la seconde Rome y est vue comme un tout unique, sans solution de continuité: dans les deux phases, avant et après la chute de l'empire d'Occident, nous sommes en présence d'un état de droit, régi par des lois romaines qui ne sont ni barbares ni barbarisées. L'Empereur a une fonction fondamentale, tout en représentant une *res publica* qui reflète à son tour la *basileia* divine. Le *ius* impérial coïncide d'ailleurs aussi avec le droit divin. Tillemont entreprend son oeuvre pendant l'apogée du règne de Louis XIV, presque un siècle après que Bodin eut posé les bases théoriques du pouvoir absolu dans son *Princeps legibus solutus*. On a écrit que Versailles est peut-être le seul exemple historique qui puisse soutenir la comparaison avec la cour de Byzance. La vision de Tillemont se développe à l'époque et dans le milieu européen qui donne à l'Etat moderne les bases idéologiques et juridiques les plus semblables, dans toute l'histoire occidentale, à celles sur lesquelles Byzance s'est appuyée pendant onze siècles. On a comparé Tillemont non pas à un byzantiniste, mais à un Byzantin: Voltaire, le grand critique de Bossuet, écrit à propos de Tillemont dans *Le siècle de Louis XIV* que "son histoire des empereurs et ses seize volumes de l'histoire ecclésiastique sont écrits avec autant de vérité que peuvent l'être des compilations d'anciens historiens". C'est aussi à la cour de Louis XIV qui commence la première grande entreprise de classification et d'édition des sources historiographiques byzantine, le *Corpus du Louvre*,

THE STUDY OF ORIGENE'S LITERARY HERITAGE IN RUSSIA.

At present the development of the Russian historical science is devited into two basic periods:

- a) The pre-revolutionary period;
- b) The post-revolutionary period.

In the study of the literary heritage of Origen, a predecessor of the Christian thought in the early Bysantium, it is possible to distinguish two analogous periods. In Russia, neither before, nor after 1917, the study of Origen's works could be considered as sufficient or satisfactory. While in the pre-revolutionary Russia the students of Origen's writings, with a few exceptions, were interested mainly in the theological side of the matter, in the Soviet period it was the ideological factor that prevented the publication of works on Origen.

Before 1917 Russian students of Origen concerned themselves with two principal subjects. The first one was that of philosophy and theology in Origen's dogmatic system. This branch was represented with works of Skvortzov, Malevansky, Yeleonsky and Bolotov, the studies in dogmatic problems being conducted in specialised monographs as well as in works on general history of the Christian thought. The understanding of the philosophical and the theological concept of the great thinker invoived study in the following items:

- 1) Origen on God-The-Father;
- 2) Trinitarian problem;
- 3) The incarnation;
- 4) Problems connected with Origen's cosmology and eschatology (the Creation, the Fall, the Apocatastasis, the structure of the Universe and the others);
- 5) the problem of the Resurrection and the Redemption.

Scholars of this branch tended to emphasize the orthodox qualities inherent to Origen's teaching or, on the contrary, his deviations from orthodoxy and his heretic errors. The question whether Origen's views were correct is closely connected with the problem of the interpretation of sources, and with that of the translation of Origen's works. It is Bolotov who is considered to have been the leading scholar in this field.

The second branch dealt with Origen's career as an apologist and a preacher. One of the most brilliant representatives of this branch was Lebedev. He investigated Origen's treatise "Against Celsus" as an instance of literary struggle of Christianity against paganism. Apart from giving an account of the contents of this work and its critical analysis, the author touches upon a few problems connected with the study of the sources.

Subsequent works dedicated to Origen's responses to Celsus' criticism chiefly depart from Lebedev's conclusions and present nothing essentially new. Apart from that in the latest half of the nineteenth century there were published a number of articles, dealing with Origen's career as a preacher.

In the Soviet period the study of Origen's literary heritage proved less fruitful, although not without some positive results. The name of this thinker and his ideas were constantly mentioned in general works on the history of early Christianity. In the Soviet historiography there has been a serious attempt by Mayorov to investigate Origen's philosophical system without detailed treatment of theological questions. Mayorov wrote that Origen had made an attempt to combine Hellenism and christianity. According to Mayorov, Origen's philosophy was chiefly influenced by stoicism and the teachings of Plato. The researcher points out a few discrepancies in Origen's concepts. First the problem of time is touched upon; there is a combination of cyclic and linear concepts. The problem of Origen's attitude towards the sacral history and historical time was handled by S.Averintzev. He comes to the conclusion that Origen did not take historical time seriously, and interpreted the facts of the history allegorically, treating events taking place in time as the allegory of sense, existing above time.

Thus, although the study of Origen's works in Russia was fruitful, there is still quite a number of problems waiting to be solved.

As is well known, the princeps edition of the History of Pachymeres was sponsored by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (Rome 1666 and 1669), with the first part as the very first item to bear the insignia 'Typis Barberinis' (cf. F. Petrucci Nardelli in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 108 (1985) 173-175). The two elegant folio volumes are uniform in design with other editions in the Corpus Parisinum and have traditionally been considered 'external' contributions to the series. More puzzling, however, is both why the History did not appear in Paris since it figured among the authors listed in the *Protrepticon*, the outline of the project that the Jesuit Philippe Labbe published in 1648 at the head of its first official installment; and how Pachymeres finally came to be entrusted to another Jesuit, Pierre Poussines.

Labbe's notice specified that Jean Tarin (1590-1666), professor of Greek at the Collège Royal, would supply a translation of the manuscript in the Royal Library (i.e., *Paris. gr.* 1723), which we know he was working on as early as the 1620's, but it did not indicate who was in charge of preparing the Greek text. Labbe simply asserted that a manuscript of Pachymeres was also ('etiam') to be found in the library of Cardinal Barberini, who had made it (i.e., *Barber. gr.* 203-204) available together with variant readings from yet another manuscript (i.e., *Barber. gr.* 198-199) collected by Leone Allacci. (For the relation between the manuscripts, Allacci's collations, and the text of Poussines, cf. A. Failler in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 37 (1979) 123-220).

The correspondences of Émery Bigot, Stefano Gradi, and Antonio Magliabechi for the early years of the 1660's reveal that at least until 1663 Barberini was actively soliciting the publication of his Pachymeres in Paris, with the translation of Tarin. The move by the Imprimerie Royale to a new workshop was responsible for some delays, but financial and political support for the Byzantine du Louvre was also drying up. The second volume of Maltret's Procopius in 1663 marks the end of the intensive editorial activity during the first phase of the Corpus. The next two contributions by Du Cange came out only in 1670, and they were followed by an even longer interruption that lasted until the second half of the 1680's. There are also indications that even before Tarin's death Bigot had taken over the responsibility of finishing or at least polishing the translation.

Sometime between 1663 and 1664 Barberini arranged to publish Pachymeres in Rome (cf. Petrucci Nardelli (175) for the printer's contract). The choice of Poussines as editor has every appearance of being a last-minute compromise to carry out the idea. He had prepared other authors for the Corpus and, while active in Rome since 1654, was in touch with Labbe. But his reputation was not altogether unblemished. In 1647, the copy of Anna Comnena that Holste had intended for Gronovius ended up in his hands under mysterious circumstances and was published two years later. And when Bigot got word of a letter in which Poussines informed Labbe that the printing of the first volume was nearly finished, he sharply criticized Poussines' abilities.

Barberini's decision to publish Pachymeres in Rome instead of Paris was thus in the first place simply an expedient one. His eagerness to see the History in print, on the other hand, points as much to the central role that he and the scholars who worked in his library had played in formulating the plan and structure of the Corpus, as it does to old ambitions that he had nursed to establish his own press, both dating back to the early 1630's. Labbe's *Protrepticon* in a sense schematized the traffic in manuscripts of Byzantine historians between Rome and Paris that had immediately preceded its appearance. Pachymeres was only a small part of these exchanges, which accelerated with the Cardinal's own presence in Paris between 1646 and 1648. Barberini may have also sought the publication of Pachymeres because he was made to understand the quality of a text that could be established on the basis of Roman manuscripts alone, even if Poussines did not make the best use of Allacci's collations. On yet another level, the handsome volumes, with their numerous engravings, celebrated the contribution of Rome and the Barberini circle in order to reaffirm that the Corpus was not an exclusively French enterprise.

Kyzlasova Irin

Moscow

Akademy N.P.Kondakov. New Archive Documents 1917-1925

There were not enough documents of Kondakov's last eight years of life (1844, near Kursk-1925, Prague). That's why his diary is so interesting (Literature archive in Prague). K. had his inscription in his diary every day. Now we prepare this document for issuing.

K. lived in Petersburg till 15.04.1917 and worked at material for "The Russian Buried Treasure", v.II (it was not finished) and history of Italian Renaissance. Then K. went to Odessa where he had prepared the course of lectures dedicated to the last theme and European art of 17 c. The 28.08. he left Odessa for Moscow and lived here till 11.10. K. continued the same researches and book "Russian Icon", he visited museums and some private collections. Then K. went to Ialta (Crimea) and tried to finish "The Russian Icon" (L., 1927; Pr., 1928-1933, v.1-1Y). The war was near, but the old scientist worked hard. The 9.09.1918 K. left Ialta for Odessa and rest there during 1,5 years. He tried to deliver the course of lectures on ancient icons of the East Christian. But he might do only 5 lectures, then the University was closed.

On the beginning of 1919 N.L.Okunev, and two young pupils A.N.Grabar and E.N.Iatsenko persuaded K. to deliver lectures on art and culture of European Renaissance at K.'s home. The course had been continued till April (26 lectures). It was a very long course for that stipulations. The academy was very trist. He understood that Russia was destroyed on his eyes. At the most tragic days A.Grabar and Okunev helped to him. Iatsenko looked after K. every day from 1917 till 1925. In May-June K. started again his lectures at the University. He continued the theme "Icons". Two of them were dedicated to Russian monuments. In October the professor read to students of French and Italian art of Romance and Gothic periods in Renaissance art. It was rather small group of students (Okunev, A.Grabar, Iatsenko and some others). At that time K. raised on a new step on his profession as he was very passion for his lectures as never before in his long life. The scientist dreamed to repeat this course in Petersburg. By means of the diary we can make a new interpretation of scientific contacts between K. and Okunev, A.Grabar - both of them did much for history of art in Europe.

K. thought so much about when he had to run from Russia. He preferred Serbia. In the 8.02.1920 he took the ship and went to Stambul. The 25.02 he offered in Sofia. Later, in March 1922 the academy went to Prague. K. worked hard in both countries: lectures, consultations for students and others, study new monuments and consummation the last books and articles. Before this moment we knew more better K.'s life in 1920-1925 than in 1917-beginning 1920. But the diary also contains many new facts about the period Sofia-Prague.

Annetta ILIEVA, Bulgarian

THE ENEMY TO THE SOUTH: BULGARIAN REFLECTIONS OF BYZANTIUM (19th-20th cs.)

To those who attended the King's College Symposium last year the second part of this communication title surely appears a mere plagiarism. The authoress--herself amongst the symposiasts--, admit that the title has indeed been coined after the theme of the London gathering; but the inspiration came from a long cherished idea to write a study devoted to Byzantium's image in the world of modern, i.e. post-A.D.1453 Bulgarians. The project was also stimulated by today's dilemmas Bulgaria faces and, very recently, by a widely circulated interview with a great Polish film director who is convinced that while the "Latin part of Europe" has an understanding mainly of its own self "the eastern/Byzantine one" has a dim knowledge of its identity. The study will delve both into the written and the painted word; the present communication is only a brief summary of a chapter dealing with pre-1944 Byzantine scholarship from this very specific point of view, not from a traditional "history-of-Byzantine-studies" perspective.

As it may be expected, the modern age of Bulgarian history gave birth to the first version of Bulgarian cultural identity--that of "History Slavo-Bulgarian" by Father Paisij of the Hilandar monastery (A.D. 1762). By mythologising the historical past and at the same time by comprehending Bulgarian traditional society as being what is not Turkish, not Greek, not Serbian, etc. this version was to remain very influential for many future generations of historians. While the Bulgarians--as compared to the Greeks--, might have owed much to a rehabilitating approach by some European romantics the specific tasks of the Bulgarian liberation movement deepened further the anti-Byzantine bias. Another formative factor acting in the same direction was that of higher education: in the early 1840s Spiridon Palaüsov (1818-72), the first Bulgarian Byzantinist, attended lectures at the universities of Bonn, Heidelberg, and Munich (he knew Fallmerayer in person and remained a staunch devotee of his). Palaüsov was also influenced by the liberal French historians of the Restoration age but his final "ripening" was in St. Petersburg in the atmosphere of disputes between "westernisers" and Slavophiles. Not living to witness the first days of Bulgaria's freedom, in his negation of Byzantium Palaüsov went as far as putting it on an equal footing with the Ottoman Empire. His view of Byzantium as the dominant malefactor in Bulgarian history after the latter's Christianisation was espoused by Marin Drinov (1838-1906) who knew Palaüsov's works and until the end of the 1870s developed his talent as a historian in the traditions of liberal Romanticism. Spending almost all of his life in Russia Drinov finally emerged as a liberal positivist; nonetheless he continued to look at Byzantium through a distorting glass and was the first to consider Bogomil doctrine and practice, as the challenge of ascending Byzantinism in post-Symeon Bulgaria.

Palaüsov's "legacy" vis-à-vis Byzantium lost some of its colour in the works of Peter Nikov (1884-1938) who in the early 1920s became the first University lecturer on the Empire's history. But almost simultaneously the difficult post-war period reinvigorated the dilemma "East or West" and nourished the investigation of "Slavic opposition" against Byzantinism (Constantine Stoyanov). That it befell the philosophically minded Peter Mutafčiev (1883-1943) to both rehabilitate Byzantium as a world civilisation and restlessly brand the "onesidedness" of its role in Bulgarian history was no mere coincidence. By demythologising our medieval past he was the first to look at what scholars of today call "frontier societies" from both sides of the frontier.

The Present and Future of the Byzantine Studies in Turkey

Between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries, the Turkish tribes and states were among those which had the closest contact with the Byzantine Empire which had strong ties with the Slavs, Western European countries and the Islamic World. At times, the Byzantines and the Turks had to confront each other on account of some specific conflict; at other times, however, a threat from a common enemy compelled them to act as allies.

The Turks inherited the Byzantine culture and civilization through their gradual conquest of Byzantine territory and military victories over Byzantine forces from the eleventh century onwards. Unfortunately, however, in Turkey research on the Byzantine period has been far from satisfactory. Research on the Ancient period and Byzantine history began to be conducted only when a renewed interest in the past history of Anatolia emerged after the foundation of the modern Turkish State in 1923. Initially, studies were solely confined to the translation of the works of the outstanding Byzantologists. Yet, in time, such research led to the emergence of a number of Turkish scholars who produced original studies on Byzantology.

This paper first seeks to explain the reason why such studies have been limited in Turkey; second, it intends to introduce a number of proposals concerning future studies in this field. Here, the basic emphasis will be on the following topics:

- 1- The Ottoman approach and understanding of Byzantium.
- 2- Early Byzantine studies and translations after 1923.
- 3- The significance of Byzantine studies from the viewpoint of Turkish history.
- 4- The significance of Turkish sources from the viewpoint of Byzantine studies. Here, the particular stress will be on the importance of the Ottoman tax and survey registers (Tahrir Defterleri) which are now regarded as one of the major sources in shedding light on the socio-economic history of the late Byzantine period.

RUSSIAN AND WESTERN BYZANTINOLOGISTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF SAINT-PETERSBURG: COLLABORATION OR COMPETITION?

While studying for some time past the abundant archives of Russian byzantinologists in St-Petersburg, I discovered quite a few data on the attempts to establish an international co-operation in the sphere of Byzantine studies in the XIXth and the first three decades of the XXth century. Among the international scientific projects worth mentioning were: the Russian-Austrian project of publication of the Acts of the Constantinople's patriarchate (the 1850-ies); the Russian-French project of studying the archives of the monasteries of Mount Athos (the late XIXth century); the complex program of exploration of Constantinople's topography (a joint work of Russian scientists and a community of learned assomptionists in the late XIXth - the early XXth century); the German-Russian project of publication of the acts of the monasteries of Mount Athos (suggested by Paul Marc in 1911); the international project to reprint Ducange's Glossary (the 1920-ies); the American-Russian project to study and create a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Sinai monastery (the 1920-ies); the international project to publish the Corpus of the sources of Byzantine law (the 1930-ies); the Russian-French project of publication of the Corpus of monuments of Byzantine sigillography (the 1930-ies); etc.

Only a small part of these plans were realized (for example, J. Pargoire successfully collaborated with the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople while studying Constantinople's topography; L. Petit published the acts of the Chilandar monastery in the Russian series "Actes de l'Athos"; etc.). The reasons why all these projects had so little effect were of both objective and subjective nature. However, the main reason was that the Russian science and the Western science in the field of Byzantine studies had their own particular goals and their specific subjects, that did not quite concur with each other. These projects were also adversely affected by the secret (and sometimes even open) competition, "a sort of scientific rivalry between Russians and West-Europeans" (F.I. Uspenskij) about free access to manuscript collections, monastery archives and archaeological monuments, as well as (last but not least!) by the fact that science actually was linked to "the big politics".

DAS STUDIUM DER BYZANTISCHEN HAGIOGRAPHIE IN RUSSLAND
MITTE DES XIX.-ANFANG DES XX. JAHRHUNDERTS

Daß das Problem der Byzantischen Hagiographie Mitte des XIX.-Anfang des XX. Jh. angesprochen ist, entspringt nicht dem Zufall. W. G. Wassilewski stand an der Spitze der Gruppe, die sich speziell mit den Schriftzeugen der Byzantischen Entwicklung beschäftigte. Er hat die Lebensbeschreibungen der Heiligen als eine besondere Art der Schriftzeugen herausgearbeitet. Seine Arbeiten waren als Musterbeispiele anerkannt. Sie sind eine fundamentale Darstellung, die das geschichtliche Verhaeltnis zwischen Byzanz und Russ zeigt, sie zeugen von dem realen Verhaeltnis zwischen der Hagiographie und historischen Geschehnissen. Vom historischen Standpunkt aus wird die Byzantische Hagiographie erforscht, und dieses Verfahren hat sich in der russischen Byzanzforschung behauptet. Ein Schueler von W. G. Wassilewski H. M. Loparjew hat als erster eine umfangreiche Gruppe der Lebensbeschreibungen von Heiligen eines speziellen Typs in Griechenland VIII.-IX. Jh. herausgehoben. Seine Forschungen beziehen sich auf strenge historisch-philologische Kritik. Er war bestrebt, die Lebensbeschreibungen in ihrem Ursprung wiederzugeben, dabei wollte er die Persoenlichkeit des Schreibers charakterisieren. In seinen Darstellungen schlug er eine Klassifikation nach dem geographischen Prinzip vor. Er erarbeitete die Grundlagen der Byzantischen Hagiologie als einer besonderen Etappe in der Geschichte der Hagiographie.

Die russische orthodoxe Kirche hat das Interesse zu der Wissenschaft Hagiographie stets befoerdert. Die kirchlichen Gelehrten legen auf die Lebensbeschreibungen entsprechend dieser Grundlage einen besonderen Wert. Sie halten diese Beschreibungen fuer enorm wichtig fuer das Verstehen der christlichen geistigen Kultur in ihrer Ganzheit sowie der Herausbildung des Selbstbewußtseins der russischen Nation. Im Ergebnis der Forschung der Hagiographie ist festzustellen, dass die Ansichten der christlichen und der weltlichen Erforschung Beruerungspunkte aufweisen.

Г. Е. Лебедева
(Санкт-Петербург)

Новое о творческой биографии А. П. Рудакова

9423

К ранее опубликованным материалам, относящимся к творческой биографии замечательного русского византиниста А. П. Рудакова, автора "Очерков византийской культуры по данным греческой агиографии", ныне можно добавить новые документы из российских архивов, которые позволяют уточнить творческую биографию историка, в частности, его контакты с Ф. И. Успенским, В. И. Герье, Х. М. Лопаревым, В. Э. Регелем, С. И. и А. С. Соболевскими. Как явствует из переписки, А. П. Рудаков много и плодотворно работал над расширением и углублением своих собственных познаний не только в области истории, но и в области археологии и искусства, дававших, по его мнению, "лучшие средства подойти к живой красочной стороне прошлого". Первоначальное название "Очерков" – "Греческие жития святых как исторический источник для изучения византийской культуры". Цель написания этого труда он видел в том, чтобы удовлетворить особенно назревшие в данное время потребности осветить быт и культуру византизма, "как одно из великих явлений всеобщей истории, как особенно оригинального культурно-исторического типа". Академик Ф. И. Успенский, знаток Византии, директор Русского археологического института в Константинополе, считал, что работа А. П. Рудакова "по своей идее и задачам идет навстречу чрезвычайно назревшей потребности в Византологии". Мы знаем, что в 1917 г. ученым был опубликован лишь сокращенный вариант "Очерков". Собранные им агиографические данные, характеризующие семью, образование, религию и нравственность Византии, были предназначены послужить материалом для другого исследования, которое автор начал готовить к печати. К сожалению, не удалось установить, какова дальнейшая судьба этой работы. В связи с этим нам представляются очень важными скупые сведения из отчета о заседании императорского археологического общества, отражающие факт прочтения А. П. Рудаковым 29 апреля 1916 г. доклада "Народное образование в Византии" (сам доклад не сохранился). Доклад был основан на анализе "преимущественно агиографической литературы VI-XII вв." Докладчик охарактеризовал высшее, среднее и низшее образование византийского юношества, дал описание разного типа начальных школ: городской, монастырской, сельской и частной; изложил методы и объем преподавания, изучавшиеся науки и взгляды общества на народное образование. События 1917 г. роковым образом сказались на творческой судьбе ученого. В создавшихся условиях продолжение научных исследований как свободного поиска для него становится невозможным. Подобно В. Г. Васильевскому, Х. М. Лопареву и др. ученым он обратился к краеведению. Но и эта деятельность А. П. Рудакова заканчивается в 1923 г. Именно в это время властями насильственно сворачивается краеведческая деятельность, где все же была возможность многогранного и свободного подхода к явлениям жизни. Высокая нравственная чистота, профессионализм ученого-историка сыграли решающую роль в его уходе от любимого дела. В 30-е годы он много занимается переводами, которые не публикует. С 1923 г. мы не знаем ни одной из его публикаций. 15 декабря 1940 г. А. П. Рудаков умер в Туле в возрасте 53 лет.

From the Scientific Heritage
of the Academician N.P.Likhachev
(the unpublished book "Byzantine Exagii")

Nowadays it is very important to recall the scientific works by Russian numismatist never published after the revolution (1917) and assign their contribution into development of the Byzantine studies.

The materials coming from archives are very useful for such research work. The unpublished manuscript of the fundamental monograph "Byzantine exagii" (about 16 p.s.) is kept in the personal archives of the academician N.P.Likhachev in St-Petersburg.

N.Likhachev had been writting this book in 1921--1925. It was based on the museum's collection of Russia and the private collection of Likhachev. Besides that the author used the exagii that had been published in the different catalogues and papers.

So the monograph is very important work. The conclusions that was drawn by Likhachev are still significant.

Now I am working on this manuscript in order to prepare it for publication.

An Abstract

Some thirty-five years ago Julius Moravcsik wrote that Hellenology rather than Byzantinology more accurately expresses the nature of the Byzantine Empire's people and culture. [*Byzantion*, vol. xxv, 1965, pp. 291-301]. His views find support from two kind of sources--those that indicate how the "Byzantines" viewed themselves and sources which reveal how others saw them and their state.

It is well known that the so-called "Byzantines" defined themselves as Romans (citizens of the Roman Empire) but others such as Latins, Franks, Germans, Russians, Armenians, Georgians, Khazarians and Jews thought of them as Greeks or Yunani, Yavani, Yoyn (Ionians). The "Byzantines" called their state "Kingdom of the Romans" (Basileion ton Rhomaion) but others described it as *Graecia* (Greece), the Greek Empire, or *Yunastan*, *Yavan*, *Yawan* (Ionia).

The "Byzantines" themselves were conscious of their uninterrupted continuity with the ancient Greeks who were pagans nevertheless ancestors. Though Hellene, one of their ethnic names, had lost its original meaning, two other racial names, Greek and Ionian, had been extensively used by their neighbors and other people of Europe and the Orient.

The epithet Greek, which according to Aristotle, Apollodoros, and other ancient sources is older than Hellene, was used by the Byzantines for self-identification but more frequently to designate the learning, language, and culture of the Empire. With some exceptions, for most of the "others" the whole Empire, including Asia Minor, was Greece and its citizens Greeks. In general in determining the Greek national character, outsiders made no distinction between pagan and Christian Greeks.

Though ancient Byzantion, like Babylon and Rome, has lent its name to an Empire, the designation Greek Empire of the Middle Centuries, or Christian Hellenism more comprehensively correspond to both native and foreign perceptions. Byzantion was not only the inheritor and transmitter of Greek civilization, Roman administrative and military institutions and the heart of Christianity but the very center of Hellenism--people, language, philosophy, education and learning.

My paper on how the "Byzantines" saw themselves and how they were seen by others is written on the basis of Greek sources such as Priskos Panites, Theophanes the Confessor, Nikephoros Choumnos, and George Pletho Gemistos. Sources for the study of how others viewed the Byzantines include the Lombard Paul the Deacon, the Syrian Joshua the Stylite, Khazarian Hebrew inscriptions, the Russian Primary Chronicle, the Spaniard Jew Benjamin of Tudela, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Robert di Clari, Gunther of Paris, and the Armenian Elishé.

DELPHE PALEOCHRETIENNE : LA VILLE ET SA CERAMIQUE

A Delphes, le Sanctuaire d'Apollon fut depuis l'Antiquité entouré d'installations urbaines. Celles-ci ont connu une extension considérable à partir de l'époque hellénistique et surtout à l'époque romaine. On remarque la construction d'édifices d'utilité publique, mais également de demeures privées.

A l'époque paléochrétienne, la ville prospère en dépit du déclin du sanctuaire et de l'interdiction de consultation de l'oracle et s'étend en gagnant du terrain même à l'intérieur de l'ancien espace sacré. Des marchands et des artisans s'installent sur les bords de l'ancienne Voie Sacrée, des maisons privées occupent la place des offrandes monumentales ou des portiques. L'existence d'au moins trois basiliques est attestée; l'emplacement de l'une d'entre elles est sujet à discussion.

Une restriction du tissu urbain se manifeste dans le dernier quart du VI^e s. Des installations artisanales prennent la place des luxueuses villas au Sud du sanctuaire, mais la vie continue jusqu'aux premières décennies du VII^e s., époque où la ville est définitivement abandonnée.

La recherche archéologique s'est focalisée ces dernières années sur deux monuments de l'époque paléochrétienne dont l'un, l'Agora Romaine, est de caractère public et l'autre, la Villa Sud-Est, privé. La céramique découverte dans ces deux monuments offre une image assez cohérente, aussi bien des importations effectuées entre le III^e et le VII^e s., que de la production locale et plus précisément de sa dernière phase de la fin du VI^e et du début du VII^e s. En ce qui concerne la céramique importée, les sources d'approvisionnement principales sont l'Afrique du Nord et l'Attique et très probablement aussi Thèbes de Phthiotide (N. Anchialos). Delphes s'inscrit ainsi dans le faciès régional des villes du Sud de la Grèce qui diffère de celui de Constantinople, des villes du Nord de la Grèce et des îles où les produits micrasiatiques prédominent. Quant à la production locale, sa présence est assurée par la fréquence constante de certaines formes et par la découverte de fours de potiers, de ratés de cuisson, de moules et de cales de cuisson.

ProtoByzantine Architectural Transformations and Re-Shaping Public Space,
Michael Milojevic, Department of Architecture, University of Auckland, New Zealand

The markedly disruptive conditions of rapid urbanisation (ie. Constantinople, Sergiopolis, Justiniana Prima, Arif) and rapid de-urbanization (ie. Rome, Sirmium, Lepcis Magna) between the 4th and 7th centuries is strongly characterised by the specific effect of Christianisation. In this paper urban spatial transformation, whether accelerated in this way or within those settlements which retained their ancient extent, is investigated through the individual, incremental, building transformations. By first identifying a substantial corpus of building transformations (documented both typologically and contextually) new perceptions concerning the re-use of public assembly buildings are offered. Identified within site and use categories (ie. temples, juridical basilicas, civic *aula*, bathes) insights of an urbanistic nature pertain to individual cities and across regions. Whereas new construction could only bring current architectural, liturgical and decorative schemes to reality, the appropriation, exorcism and conversion of abandoned pagan cult buildings and the adaptation of other public infrastructure for new uses, in which other spolia were often employed, almost always produced uniquely planned, scaled and detailed buildings, site-specific by definition and more than often highly idiosyncratic. This is a phenomenon sitting uneasily within canonical architectural histories. Notwithstanding Deichmann's pioneering study of the 'temple-churches' (1939), revisions by Spieser (1976) and Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) and before-after conversion drawings by Vaes (1979) an architectural analysis focussing on the physical reality of this growing and more accurately identified *corpus* of conversion is wanting. 'Temple-churches' (now 83 known examples) and those secular buildings (well over 200) appropriated, interiorised in some way, and some even relocated in whole or in part (ie. tetrapylons within churches ie. Apameia and Aphrodisias) but are often unusually lavish in their architectonic materiality and scale, redolent of an historical classical building industry in their detailing, and above all have an urban 'authenticity' which new purpose-built buildings could not claim. Indeed if these conversions are to be thought a phenomenon which occurs in the 4th and 5th centuries but is particularly common in the 7th century one should not overlook the Heracleian court's taste for antiquarian classicism in their luxury goods. This paper features detailed (especially drawn as yet unpublished) analytical digitalised plans and contextual surveys of numerous conversion sites from different geographical regions: cities *au courant* with architectural innovations as well as from those regions out of the cultural mainstream. The secondary purpose of this paper is to draw, graphically mainly, some comparisons between these spatially transformed Byzantine settlements, together with those (streets, intersections and squares) of the *de novo* urban schemas of late Antiquity and the proto-Byzantine era, and the monumental ecclesiastical, episcopal, pilgrimage and monastic complexes (ie. Tebessa, Gerasa, Qal'at Sim'an) in order to offer insights into some of the motivations of Byzantine architectural and urban planning.

The importance of the Justinian's Hagia Sophia for the inclusion of the dome in the Byzantine church building is unquestionable in spite of the fact that the discovery of the remains of St Polyeuktos shows that its ancestry should be sought in the tradition of centralized martyria, and that for a whole millenium neither the design nor the construction of Constantinopolitan cathedral was imitated, reproduced or developed further. The domed basilica, a quite distinct type of church building, also realized in the mid-sixth century, proved to be considerably more important in the development of Byzantine domed church building. However loosely the term is used, no pre-justinianic church of the type is known, either in the capital or in provinces, with only one possible exception in Asia Minor (Alahan). The single true domed basilica in Constantinople, Hagia Irene, was, in its justinianic form, a three-aisled basilica, vaulted throughout, with galleries and a masonry dome over the eastern part of its nave. Without immediate direct descendents in Constantinople, the type was followed in the capital's European hinterland where a variety of solutions through which the basilica and the dome were combined, proves the absence of a single tradition as well as the unstoppable development of the domed church building.

At Pirdop, in western Bulgaria, the collonades of a 5th c. traditional timber-roofed basilica were remodelled so to support a vaulted upper structure, galleries and a masonry dome. A close parallel, and a possible model, might be recognized in the domed vaulted basilica at Sardica which is still preserved (the church of Sta Sophia).

Much more simple-minded case of the incorporation of the dome in the traditional basilica was constructed in the 540's at Prima Iustiniana (Caricin Grad), where four strong columns, resting on stonebases set inside the nave, parallel with the foundation of main collonades, seem to have carried a light (wooden ?) dome which must have looked rather like a monumental baldachin, loosely - if at all - integrated into the still timber-roofed basilica.

The so-called Rotunda at Konjuh illustrates yet another way in which a basilica could absorb the dome. When compared with more or less contemporary basilica at Svinjarica (at the outskirts of Caricin Grad) the church at Konjuh shows that the inclusion of the dome, almost like an afterthought, required a circular re-arrangement of piers and columns, while the rest of the plan remained the same.

At Ilissos outside Athens - if one can trust uncertain archeological data - a somewhat tentative grafting of dome on a transeptal basilica betrays through overcautiously heavy substructure the lack of selfconfidence on the part of builders.

Basilica B at Phillipi from the middle of the 6th c. offers, finally, an example of a complete integration of the two elements. A comparison of this church with another transeptal basilica which was built in the same city in the previous century (Lemerle' Basilica A) might suggest a hypothetical explanation for the very introduction of the dome in the church building. A marble baldachin over the altar table in Basilica A (underneath which a repository for relics was identified) became in the 6th c. Basilica B a monumental masonry dome, a pivotal element of the church in both iconographic and structural sense.

A Lectionary of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus

In the course of my research on the byzantine lectionary, I happened to find a lectionary with a frontispiece executed by the emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus. The purpose of the paper is to publish the manuscript with reconstruction.

The manuscript is Cod. Add.37006 in the British Library, containing 295 folia, c.29.5x23cm. The frontispiece (f.1v) consists of the big cross in the center, and Christ standing, bending His head, and arrested in hand under the cross. From faint traces, we can recognize that in the space opposite to Christ, an emperor's image had been painted, now almost completely flaked.

An inscription above the emperor can be read as follows: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ [ΠΙΣΤΟΣ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ [ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ]. A flaked title above Christ should have been ΕΛΚΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ. We can find the same iconography of Christ, e.g. in the enameled staurothek at Esztergom.

Then, which Andronicus? Comparing with two chrysobulls Cod. 80 of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, and Cod. M 398 of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, we can safely conclude Andronicus II Palaeologus as the patron.

When Andronicus II gives a document to a church, he likes to make himself paint in the church's iconography as the frontispiece. So in our case, we can imagine that the lectionary was donated to a church which had some connections with the relics of the Holy Cross.

The last question is whether the manuscript itself was, as well as the miniature, produced by the emperor or not. So far, I incline that the manuscript should be dated to the twelfth century, since the selection of the saints in the Menologion shows no distinct similarities with that of the lectionaries of the "Palaeologina group."

(Tokyo)

10016

D.J.Felton

'The role of the Akathistos hymn in the painted programme of the Pantanassa at Mistra'

University of Sussex, England

I intend to define the role of the painted scenes illustrating the Akathistos hymn in the Pantanassa at Mistra, particularly as they help us to understand Palaiologan court culture in Mistra in the Fifteenth Century. I shall address issues of sources and models for the cycle, the placement of the cycle within the overall fresco-programme and its viewing, its style (does the cycle fit within the manneristic mode of other parts of the programme ? is the cycle as stylistically 'desacralised' (Mouriki) as other parts of the programme ? how far does the cycle give evidence of the the 'synthetic unicum' (Mouriki) forged in the Pantanassa from western, Islamic and Serbian elements ?) and its function (mapped against a politico-historical, an intellectual and a religious background).

I shall illustrate my talk with slides, and complement it by a poster-display.

**An analysis of the Akathistos hymn concerning text, music
and illustrations**

Text, music and illustrations are analyzed separately and in combination.

The text of the 24 hymns through centuries considered as the work of Romanos, is the only Kontakion which has been kept in the original form with 24 Oikoi and a proemion. The text has been preserved almost unchanged. The Akathistos hymn is a hymn for the Virgin Mary and was originally performed on the 25th March on the feast of the Annunciation. There are 8 lines in each hymn, the climax being reached in line 5.

The music for the 24 hymns has changed through the centuries and from place to place depending on the tradition. The very melismatic style which belongs to the soloist's repertoire in the Psaltikon is characteristic for the Kontakion style. The climax is slowly reached in line 5, but melismatic elaboration continues after that line. None of the 24 hymns are identical seen from a musical point of view. They differ in minute details.

The illustrations. The 24 illustrations of the hymns are built on basic rules and formulas just like the text and the music. There is an important center surrounded by traditional landscapes, buildings, angels, saints and ordinary people. The illustrations follow the the text closely.

Even if the 24 hymns are almost identical at the first look in all three media, not two of them are identical in detail, and each detail has its importance.

The more the medium removed from the pure text message of the Akathistos hymn: Mary and the Trinity, the more is freedom cultivated, and all is done with the purpose of the highest possible adoration.

The text can only allow small elaborations, the music many more, and the pictures even more, but all three media are bound to follow the rules which belong to their field.

THE 'ISLAND OF CASSANDRIA' IN THE XVTH CENTURY

1001.8

A prominent geographical feature of northern Greece is the promontory ending in three peninsulas known as Chalcidice. The eastern arm is Akte, more commonly now known as the 'Holy Mount', *Ayion Oros* or Mount Athos, geologically rocky, now best known for its mediaeval monasteries. The central arm is Sithonia, sometimes called the Torone peninsula after the ancient city of that name. It is less rocky than Athos. The western arm, Pallene, has no rock formations on the surface, and is therefore the most agriculturally productive. This fact, and the narrowness of the peninsula at its neck, have proved to be of strategic significance at some periods.

At the neck of the peninsula, about 600 B.C., Corinth founded its colony of Potidaea, the city which has been called 'the Sarajevo of Antiquity' because it became the excuse for the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. In 316 B.C. the same site was chosen by Cassander of Macedon for the establishment of a new city which bore his name, and must therefore have been intended to be the new capital of Macedonia. It was probably at this time that a canal was dug across the peninsula. Literary evidence shows that Cassandria was of some importance during the Hellenistic period. In 44-2 B.C. a Roman colony was founded there. In the sixth century the city was overrun by the Huns, but rebuilt by Justinian. It was clearly a place of some commercial significance in the Byzantine period, because by the treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) the Genoese were given the right to set up an establishment with a consul there.

In the Byzantine period there is no evidence that the site was a naval base of any importance before the 15th century (although the canal was cleared in the time of Alexius I). The peninsula as a whole was still fertile, and provided timber for shipbuilding.

In the late 14th century the whole area came under the control of the Turks, but after the treaty which was signed between Suleyman and John VII Palaiologos in 1403 Cassandria reverted to the Greeks together with Thessalonica. Shortly after this, when John Palaiologos was ruling in Thessalonica, the canal was cleared again, and the fortifications of the city were repaired. In 1425 Cassandria was captured by the Turks, and soon afterwards by the Venetians, who held it for five years until Thessalonica fell in 1430 and the whole of northern Greece came under Turkish control. It became very important at this time. Its principal use to the Venetians was as a naval base, and it was also considered a safe place in which to locate Mustafa, a Turk who claimed to be a son of the late sultan Bayazid I, and was challenging his successor and Murad II. Evidence for this is to be found in Greek texts, in the records of decisions of the Venetian Senate, and in the *Diary* of Antonio Morosini.

Constantine Sakellariopoulos (University of Melbourne)

10021

Dorotheos of Monemvasia: towards a scholarly edition of a problem chronicle.

Under the name of Dorotheos of Monemvasia there appeared in the seventeenth century, from the printing houses of Venice, a chronicle of world history of the distinctive type produced for centuries within the Byzantine world, though one which now also very readily treated of the new order of the Ottomans by which that world had been replaced.

In the recent past, the work contained in this Venetian publication has also been found to have circulated about the same time in manuscript, though in a range of forms differing to varying degrees from the printed text and mostly without attributions of authorship, in particular with none to any Dorotheos of Monemvasia about whom today nothing is otherwise known.

As part of a series in the Vienna corpus this largely neglected record of the post-Byzantine world's view of history, still today only accessible through the popular Venetian printing, is to be made available in an edition prepared following a comprehensive reexamination of the work's authorship, sources, manuscript tradition and history.

Perceptions of Byzantine Art in 1940s Australia

10022

Melissa Green

This poster examines the perceptions of Byzantine art in 1940s Australia and the purchase of three icons, *Christ as Lord of All.*, *The Nativity* and *SS Basil, Chrysostom and Gregory with a donor*, from the collection of Charles Seltman by the National Gallery of Victoria. The Gallery's intentions, and the aesthetic presumptions upon which they are based, is the central focus of my discussion. As unpublished letters in the Gallery archives reveal, these works were purchased on the advice of Sir Kenneth Clark for educative purposes. It is made clear that these works were not acquired for their artistic merit nor for their cultural and theological significance. Religious art in the Byzantine style was deemed aesthetically inappropriate for a public art collection. In 1940s Australia Byzantine art was considered stylistically primitive. It was a merely a necessary precursor to the great artistic achievements of the Italian Renaissance.

Abel - 5222
Acara - 4133
Adamesteanu - 4123
Adsuara - 6312
Aibabin - 3114
Åkerström-Haugen - 5321
Albani - 4114
Aleksejeva - 6321
Alexandrescu - 6342
Alexandru - 6314
Alexeenko - 8414
Allen - 6422
Allison - 9311
Alpaslan - 5252
Amirbekian - 5313
Angelidi - 7612
Angiolini Martinelli - 1254
Anisimova - 8124
Antonopoulou - 6423
Aptsiauri - 6224
Archipova - 5253
Arco Magrí - 7213
Arevshatian - 6331
Asano - 5112
Asatryan - 1244
Astachova - 2112
Avilushkina - 7326
Baán - 6232
Bagge - 7324
Balicka-Witakowska - 1243
Baloglou - 7138
Barker - 1102
Barmine - 6122
Basargina - 3211
Baséu-Bárabas - 7633
Berger - 4115
Beyer - 6123
Bezarashvili - 6426
Bibikov - 7611
Bliznjuk - 3124
Blomqvist - 3212

Bodin, Helena - 7137
Bodin , Per-Arne - 6417
Bogdanova - 1224
Bonfioli - 5211
Bozoian - 6227
Bruskari - 4112
Butler - 4212
Cacouros - 8125
Calendine - 6121
Caruso - 6233
Castillo Maldonado - 1311
Cerbu - 9413
Chantladze - 7133
Chekalova - 7312
Chentsova - 2311
Chesnokova - 2116
Chevalier - 4214
Cheynet - 8421
Chotzakoglou - 1245, 8424
Clover - 7631
Congourdeau - 2331
Constantelos - 10011
Constantoudaki-Kitromilides - 5213
Costea - 5237
Cunningham - 6424
Cuppo Csaki - 8121
Dandraki - 9312
Davis - 7121
de Vries-van der Velden - 7323
Delilbasi - 9416
Della Valle - 5234
Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopoulos - 9102
Deschauer - 7512
di Lello-Finuoli - 7212
Dimitrov - 7327
Dionyziadou - 9312
Dobrynina - 5232
Dolidse - 7111
Dourou-Eliopoulou - 3122
Drossoyianni - 5113
Duffy - 7511

Eastmond - 1235
Emanov - 1225
Emmanuel - 5325
Erhart - 1101
Etinhof - 5342
Evangelatou-Notara - 2321
Evans - 6112
Fatouros - 9202
Felton - 10016
Felton - 6414
Fiema - 4121
Frendo - 1422
Frigerio-Zeniou - 5124
Frösén - 4122
Gahbauer - 6212
Gelytovych - 5262
Gertsman - 6344
Ghazarian - 5346
Golovanj - 5114
Gómez - 2332
Gordienko - 5233
Gorecki - 2114
Gorina - 1314
Gouma-Peterson - 2341
Green - 10022
Guruljova - 9424
Hadermann-Misguich - 5231
Hakkarainen - 1412
Hanak - 6222
Harris - 1104
Heidemann - 8423
Henrich - 7328
Hinterberger - 7214
Holcomb - 1252
Hunger - 8412
Ilieva - 9415
Ioannisian - 1216
Ionesco-Hunciag - 5316
Isar - 5334
Ivanov - 6433
Ivanova - 1212

Ivashenko - 4131
Jääskinen - 1215
Jordania - 3113
Jouanno - 7322
Jung - 6311
Jurchyshyn - 5344
Kakovkin - 1241
Kalopissi-Verti - 9201
Karahan - 5323
Karlin-Hayter - 6114
Karpov - 9101
Katselaki - 5312
Kavrus-Hoffmann - 8111
Kavvadia-Spondilis - 5254
Kerov - 6211
Khairedinova - 1221
Khintibidze - 1211
Khoperia - 7134
Khroushkova - 4216
Kiilerich - 5111
Kilpeläinen - 6236
Kioussopoulou - 7634
Kniazki - 6231
Kolia-Dermitzaki - 1317
Kolias - 2212
Kometch - 4213
Kompaniec - 6335
Konotop - 6325
Konstantinova Ulff-Møller - 6327
Korobejnikov - 1318
Korres - 2213
Kountoura-Galake - 2223
Koutchma - 2211
Koutrakou - 1413
Krasheninnikova - 6324
Kriticou - 6412
Krivouchine - 7311
Krivov - 7221
Kujumdzieva - 6316
Külzer - 6131
Kutsia - 6115

Kuznetsov - 7401	Nicholas - 7138
Kvirikashvili - 7132	Olajos - 1316
Kyzlasova - 9414	Osborne - 1411
Lamberz - 9203	Osharina - 4117
Lammi - 5223	Ötügen - 4116
Lebedeva - 9423	Oukhanova - 6416
Leube - 4141	Palmer - 6432
Lidov - 5317	Panayotidi - 9201
Lifshitz - 5341	Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou - 7112
Lindsay Opie - 5235	Panov, Branko - 6223
Lingas - 6317	Panov, Mitko - 6221
Ljubarskij - 7313	Pantanella - 1253
Loukaki - 6215	Papadatou - 2115
Lounghis - 2111	Papathanassiou - 6313
Lozovaya - 6322	Papyan - 6226
Majeska - 6415	Parapadakis - 9312
Malingoudi - 1315	Patoura - 2221
Maltezou - 3123	Pavlikianov - 3111
Maniati-Kokkini - 2312	Pellikka - 6235
Marcato - 5121	Peltomaa - 6411
Martianiani-Reber - 8201	Perez Martin - 8126
Martin - 5315	Perfilyeva - 1232
Maslennikov - 1222	Petridis - 4111, 10012
Masuda - 10015	Piatnitsky - 5236
Mavrommatis - 3121	Piguet-Panayotova - 1233
Mayer - 6421	Piltz - 8122
McClanan - 8503	Piotrovskaja - 7131
Medvedev - 9421	Poliakovskaja - 7621
Melville-Jones - 10018	Poll - 4134
Merras - 6111	Ponomarev - 3116
Miljkovic-Peppek - 5335	Popkhadze - 7135
Milojevic - 10013	Popova - 5115
Mirzoyan - 1234	Popovich - 5331
Mockrousov - 4125	Poshidajewa - 6326
Mogarichev - 1223	Prokopyev - 9412
Mouradian - 6225	Rapp - 1421
Müller - 8301	Rasolkoska-Nikolovska - 5122
Mundt - 5324	Reinsch - 7325
Munitiz - 6425	Rokai - 7329
Nachkebia - 6431	Romanchuk - 4124
Nerantzi-Varmazi - 7632	Ronchey - 9411

Rosser - 4113
Sahas - 6132
Sakellarpoulos - 10021
Saliwalowa - 9422
Salomon - 8501
Samoylova - 5343
Sampanikou - 5125
Sande - 1103
Sandrovskaja - 8422
Sazonov - 4132
Schartau - 6341
Schidlovsky - 6332
Schjødt - 10017
Schkolnik, Irina - 6315
Schkolnik, Marina - 6323
Scott - 7321
Seibt - 8411
Semoglou - 5123
Seppälä - 6334
Shahîd - 6213
Shalina - 5345
Shchpova - 1214
Shirinian - 1231
Shukurov - 3125
Shukurov - 4211
Sidorenko - 3115
Signes Codofier - 1313
Simic-Lazar - 5333
Sinkevic - 5116
Sirli - 6413
Sirtsova - 6113
Skalova - 1242
Skop - 5243, 5314
Skop-Druziuk - 5314, 5243
Smirnova - 5221
Smythe - 9313
Sode - 8423
Spatharakis - 5332
Spinei - 1226
Staats - 6234

Stavridou-Zafraka - 3112
Stepanenko - 8413
Stepanian - 6427
Stepanova - 8415
Stephenson - 2224
Strati - 5214
Stricevic - 10014
Suceava - 6343
Sumbadze - 6124
Takács - 7211
Talbot - 6214
Tambaki - 4217
Teoteoi - 6434
Teteriatnikov - 5322
Tinnefeld - 7521
Todorova - 1213
Totev - 5241
Troelsgaard - 6341
Tsikaras - 4218
Ulff-Møller - 6327
Vachnadze - 6115
Vallejo Girvés - 2113
van Esbroeck - 1312
van Essenberg - 5326
Vardazarian - 7136
Varvounis - 2333
Ventura - 2222
Vereecken - 7622
Vjalova - 8123
Vysotskij - 4215
Wada - 1251
Walmsley - 8502
Warburg - 5261
Yalçin - 5251
Yasinovskiy, Andrii - 6125
Yasinovskiy, Yurii - 6333
Zalesskaya - 5212
Zervou Tognazzi - 5311
Zhavoronkov - 2214
Zwirn - 5242



1
2
3
4
5
6
7
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9
10
11
12
13
14
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16
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20
21
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80
81
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84
85
86
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88
89
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92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100